THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

February 21, 1948

CENSORSHIP AGAIN DENIED

AN EDITORIAL

Implementing The Fulbright Act

John Melby

MacArthur And The Press

Hugh Deane

Private Trade Faces A Crisis

J. R. Kaim

North Korea And The UN

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 108 CNC$30,000 NUMBER 12

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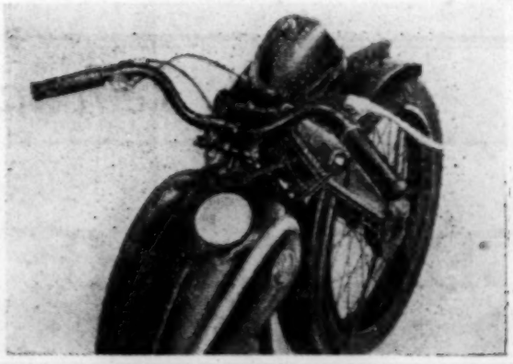

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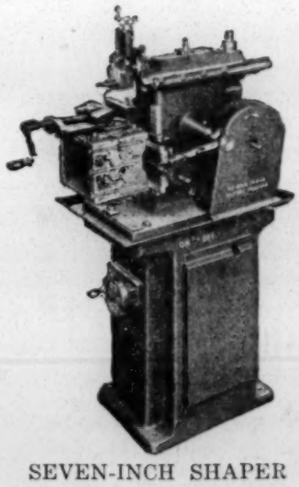

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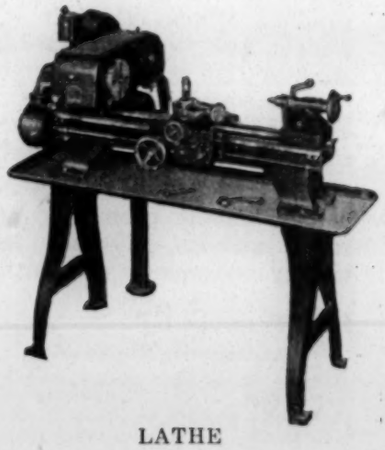

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Ambition And War

To the Editor:

Men are supposed to be rational beings, but they are performing the most foolish, cruel and brutal deed—war.

In my opinion, it is the ambition of human beings that causes war.

Napoleon swept through the Continent of Europe with the ambition to conquer the world; the militarists of Japan provoked World War II with the same desire, so did Mussolini who invaded Abyssinia and Hitler who invaded Poland and other nations in Europe.

At present, Russia is swallowing her neighboring countries with the hope of making the world Red; the capitalists in America are menacing the peace of the world by extending their markets. Even in China, the most peace-loving country of the world, the Civil War is now raging, caused by Mao Tse Tung who wants to overthrow the National Government.

All these ambitious leaders are heroes of the world as well as warmongers. To their satisfaction, all the people in the world are involved in the war and in a wretched plight. Therefore, in order to avoid war, the ambition of human beings should be averted. But how to rid it from the minds of men is a great problem.

HSU SHIH-CHEN.

Kaifeng, Honan,
February 7, 1948.

Striking Evidence

To The Editor:

With the situation in China going from bad to worse, the Chinese press is under severe censorship. Most of the newspapers are either owned or controlled by the authorities, the well-known *Ta Kung Pao* being no exception, no matter how it boasts of its liberal and impartial stand. The most striking evidence can be illustrated by the war news by its "special correspondents," which is always partly or wholly twisted. A schoolmate of mine said that he now prefers *Hsin Wen Pao* or *Shun Pao* to *Ta Kung Pao* for the latter under the disguise of an impartial paper is cheating the lao pai hsing.

Under such conditions, the *Review* has become one of the most reliable and honest friends of the Chinese people. It is from this paper that we are still able to read what is actually going on in this country and to hear the voice of the people. It is this paper which enables the masses to voice their wrath, agony and suffering which otherwise would not be made known.

Today is Lunar New Year's Day. Being a Chinese student who loves the *Review* deeply, I wish you a happy new year. I hope that you will be more brave and firm. You need not fear, for I can assure you that the bulk of the Chinese lao pai hsing is with you forever. Your work is by no means wasted. Many Chinese are looking at you with thanks and delight.

W. T. C.

Shanghai,
February 6, 1948.

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Smuggling Problem

To The Editor:

The problem of smuggling in South China has become very serious. It threatens to paralyze China's economy and has aroused the concern of the Government. Hongkong's special political situation and its favorable geographical position are convenient to those unscrupulous merchants engaging in illegal smuggling activities.

The failure of the Government's strenuous efforts to curb the smuggling in South China may be attributed to two factors, i.e., that Hongkong is now under the jurisdiction of Great Britain and that the proximity of Canton to Hongkong and Kowloon are a great help to smuggling activities.

Of course, the most effective measure the Government could take to halt the rampant smuggling is to get back Hongkong and Kowloon from the British, but that is impossible at present. What we can do is to solicit the sincere assistance and close co-operation of the Hongkong Government to help strengthen the customs inspection. This has already been adopted by our Government. An economic agreement has been reached by these two governments to curb and prevent smuggling activities in South China. Though this should not be regarded as a panacea for China's present economic difficulties, it is certainly a move in the right direction.

As Hongkong's prosperity is attributable to smuggling activities, the flight of capital from China and the remittances from Overseas Chinese, the successful elimination of smuggling in South China will depend, to a great extent, on the co-operation of the Hongkong Government.

We are hopeful that this economic agreement will deal a severe blow to the smugglers and work out a way for the recovery of normal trade between Hongkong and China, but the result of this pact still remains to be seen.

ALFRED WANG.

Nanking,
February 15, 1948.

Introduction Wanted

To The Editor:

I am surprised to find that Mr. Chia, as a second grade student of a senior middle school, is able to write "English Student"—a complete letter with simple and clear sentences in the January 31 issue of the *Review*. He is the only middle school student I know who can write idiomatic English. Above all, he is living in Sian where the educational standard is usually lower than that of big cities such as Shanghai, Peiping, etc.

I am sure that the suggestions in his letter are supported by students of both middle school and college. I, a freshman of the Great China University, am eager to make the acquaintances of some English or American friends, especially those foreign students who want to learn the Chinese language and would like to exchange knowledge with me. Exchanging knowledge among Chinese and foreign friends would be the best way to help mutual understanding of the oriental and western civilizations.

Therefore, I hope that you will kindly introduce me to some English or American students who live in Shanghai and would like to exchange knowledge with me. My address is:

上海大夏大學鄭燦輝

CHENG TSAN-HUEI.

Shanghai, China,
February 17, 1948.

New Method

To The Editor:

A friend recently returning from the border area between Shantung and Honan related an instructive as well as interesting story about how the compulsory mass education plan is carried on there.

It is not only theoretical but also practical that anywhere there are intellectuals there is education, even if there is no possibility of setting up a school because of the suicidal strife going on there.

Boys and girls of school age in every village in the border area are divided into various teams, such as a woodcutting team, a grass gathering team, and a fertilizer collecting team. Before setting to work, the members of each team must go to the farm where the teacher works. The sticks are their chalk, the ground is their natural blackboard and the field is their school campus. The teacher instructs them for 30 minutes or an hour. After the class, every student goes away to do his own work leaving the teacher to continue his tilling.

Contests of learning among the students are often held in order to encourage them to do their best. Those who get more fuel, gather more grass and pick up more fertilizer and at the same time can bear in mind all the lessons without mistake are honored as "Heroes" or "Heroines" of Learning. Those who cannot remember their lessons are not allowed to return to the village in which they live. At the crossroads leading to the village, there hangs a board on which the day's lesson is written; unless the pupil can repeat what he has been taught he is not allowed to return home as punishment for his indolence.

It is this kind of effective teaching method that is causing the illiteracy rate to decrease rapidly from day to day.

Besides the Civil War, the Chinese Communists have to fight another war—a war to wipe out illiteracy as well as ignorance.

INSTRUCTION.

Kaifeng, Honan,
February 5, 1948.

Medical Books Wanted

To The Editor:

I have been a subscriber to your *Review* for several months. I enjoy reading it very much for it gives me valuable information which cannot be found in other papers. It is also impartial and dauntless.

I am a senior of the Kiangsi Provincial Medical College. Because of the skyrocketing commodity prices and the scanty salary of my father who is only a middle school teacher, I cannot afford to buy any textbook or reference book, each copy of which costs at least CNC$100,000. I have to take a lot of pains with my lessons either by putting down what the teachers are saying or by reading books borrowed temporarily from some classmates.

In so doing, I have to spend more of my time in taking down notes than in reading. In order to spare more time for reading so as to increase my medical knowledge, I hope to get some books on medicine in English, such as anatomy, surgery, bacteriology, pediatrics and biochemistry from some generous person who has no more use for these books. I intend to make him a remuneration for his kindness.

N. C. CHENG.

Nanchang, Kiangsi,
February 2, 1948.

Kaifeng Unstable

To The Editor:

Kaifeng, the capital and political center of Honan, has been unstable since last summer. It seems everyone here has a premonition that something unusual will occur before long.

Murder, armed robbing and plunder in the main street in the Siang Kuo Tse district (the Temple of Buddha), which is the most crowded market in Kaifeng, are not strange things. The following announcement issued by the Kaifeng Hsien Government on last December 29, reflects the critical and unstable situation in Kaifeng.

It reads: "From reliable sources, this Government learned that a 'traitor' bandit, under the disguise of a lieutenant colonel, with four attendants, two pistols and CNC$150,000,000, had slipped into this city and taken lodging at Mrs. Chen Yu-hsia's. This government lost no time in dispatching four plain clothes policemen to arrest them at 2 p.m. on December 26. When the police rushed into Mrs. Chen's house, this bandit was just coming out. Seeing the police, he was immediately conscious of what had befallen him; hence he began to fire in self-defence. The police fired back, and the neighborhood became greatly disturbed. After about 70 rounds had been fired the bandit scampered away, taking advantage of the public commotion, of the crowds in the street, then jumped into a rickshaw and forced the puller to turn northward because the chasers were on his heels.

"It was a matter of regret that the sentry at the city gate, taking him for a regular military officer, let him pass freely, with the result that no trace of him could be found. But his attendents as well as his hostess were caught and put into prison. It was fortunate that nobody was hurt during the firing in the street."

MATTHEW.

Kaifeng, Honan,
February 7, 1948.

No MacArthur

To The Editor:

As a Chinese, I would like to say that there are traces of American Imperialism in the US, though I am neither a communist nor an anti-communist. I support whole heartedly the "International Cooperation" urged by such great thinkers as Albert Einstein and the like. It is urgently needed to clarify the present chaos that may lead to World War III.

Many Chinese patriots hope to save China by themselves, but because of the economic crisis in China, they also welcome Mr. William Bullitt's article (*Life*, October 27, 1947) with only one point in which they disagree, i.e. General MacArthur should not come to China as President Truman's personal representative to make a joint plan with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to prevent the subjugation of China by the Soviet Union.

They, too, denounce such incompetent high officials as the Vice-President of the Executive Yuan who wished to avoid "too much trouble," as pointed out in a letter published in the *Review* of January 10, this year. They also blame the selfish top officials such as Dr. H. H. Kung, former Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, who asks for American help while his own deposits are kept safe, to which you called public attention in the January 17 issue of your *Review*.

"L'IMPARTIAL."

Nanking,
February 9, 1948.

Who Done It?

To The Editor:

It was with great surprise that I noticed your very esteemed magazine dealing in a "mystery." Perhaps it is the influence of the "who done it?" movies.

I realize that in times such as these one runs the risk of being called a communist for what I have to say, but to me this is merely one more black mark against the fate of which the world now finds itself the victim.

In a recent issue of *The China Weekly Review*, you used a cartoon from the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* which shows what is supposed to represent the French worker, who was involved in the recent strikes in France, being firmly clutched around the legs by a fist emerging from a coat sleeve bearing the hammer and sickle.

From this, I suppose, the casual reader is to gather that the wave of strikes in that country was directed by the communists. However, as a person who likes to do crossword puzzles, cryptograms, and listen to quiz programs, I find that the cartoon is not too specific as to whether the crime was committed by the French communists or whether the Russians got in their two cents worth.

Having been a faithful reader of the daily papers, I would put my money on the orders having emanated from the inner regions of the Kremlin. However, the less literate crowd might not have been able to figure this out. Therefore, I think that in future problems of this sort either you or the original cartoonist should be more definite or else come right out in the open and tell the readers that they have a choice of criminals.

By way of inserting a clue, it might be mentioned that membership in the French communist party as claimed by these people themselves (and they have never been known to stint of facts of this sort) is 1,000,000. The French government reported that there were 2,000,000 workers on strike during the period under discussion while the communists reported 3,000,000 out on strike. I don't wish to add to this puzzle, but taking the government figures on strikers and the number of communist party members in France, just where did the other million (non-communist strikers) come from? Perhaps the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* knows.

Yours for bigger and more mystifying "who done its!"

A.C.

Shanghai,
February 14, 1948.

Very Difficult

To The Editor:

As you know, since the *Wen Wei Pao* was forced to close down last year we have practically no liberal newspapers at all in China. It is also very difficult for one to subscribe to newspapers from Hongkong or elsewhere which represent the people.

I have in mind, therefore, a suggestion for you. If you would kindly include in your column "What Chinese Papers Say" comments or criticism from papers such as the *Hwa Shiang Pao* in Hongkong and the like, I should say the majority of your readers would be appreciative.

D. N. H.

Nanking, China,
February 4, 1948.

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Pattern Of Thinking

To The Editor:

Your article by Andrew Roth in this week's issue of the *Review* is highly commendable in relating the actions of the French in Indo-China.

The problem of why the European "colonial" behaves as he does, as contrasted to the democratic traditions of such countries as England and France, is indeed a significant one. It is indeed a paradox to view a "socialist" England and a French government, which so recently was overrun by the Nazi supermen, sending people out to "carry the white man's burden" in the manner Mr. Roth describes in French Indo-China.

However, one does not have to journey to this spot to see the reaction which sets in when the foreigner, whose living conditions are so much higher than the vast majority of the people, comes to China. As an American, who has seen his countrymen in action in other places in the Far East, it is not at all surprising to see the manner in which so many of them behave. The air of arrogance and disregard for the people in whose country they are carrying on their affairs is marked in many places where they congregate. The matter of calling every person who waits on them, "boy," while no great crime, is justly indicative of their attitude.

It is indeed noticeable that so many Americans, who pride themselves on coming from the world's truest democracy, quickly fall into the same pattern which Europeans before them have created. It is a known fact that a good many Americans would never consider coming to work here unless assured of leading a most "comfortable" life.

This is no attempt to be anti-foreign, for I am a foreigner myself. I know a good number of Americans who are quite sincere and most anxious to try to fit in with the situation here. However, there is no use in denying that the majority of them are not too good as salesmen for real democracy.

Perhaps an article on what makes these people behave as they do, in contrast to this superficial treatment, would be welcomed by your readers.

AURELIUS

Shanghai,
February 7, 1948.

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Advice On Education

To The Editor:

I always get great pleasure reading certain pages in your *Review* and particularly the Letters From The People section. It is so good to get the opinions, information or experiences from readers all over the country. Lots of these ideas are right and wonderful but there are some people, I think, who sometimes fail to hit the nail on the head. This, I feel, should not be allowed to pass without an answer.

For instance, Mr. Lo San-chang in the issue of February 7, 1948, expressed the opinion that "the adoption of separate education is especially necessary." This may have been all right in the past when you might have had a beautiful wife or a girl friend as a result of an agreement between your father and his friend. However, for our generation this custom is almost completely ended.

A knife can be bad and good. It can be used to cut vegetables into pieces or it may be used to kill a good friend. Therefore, if a thing is all right it still depends on what use it is put to.

Dear friend, why not let the relation between you and your girl become a real friendship. Suppose you two study hard together, work together, attend classes together and on week-ends find relaxation in museums and gardens. Why not let all the Chinese students do the same?

What has happened is that you are unsure of yourself. Your girl friend doesn't really like you as much as you like her and so you begin to worry day and night about ways in which you can keep her, and consequently your studies suffer.

So, dear friend, why not use your knife to cut the vegetables and eat them with your girl rather than to kill yourself and her.

LT. HSUEH SHU-SHEN.

Shanghai,
February 10, 1948.

Nothing Stale

To The Editor:

The *Review's* English Lessons are highly commendable and would be much more so if they were restricted to current terms, usages and expressions, whose explanations cannot be found in ordinary textbooks or dictionaries.

It would be better to refer those discussions on verb tenses, articles, participles, etc. to old grammar books so as to make your *Review* contain nothing stale to most readers.

P. Y. KU.

Wusih, Kiangsu,
February 12, 1948.

Poor Student

To The Editor:

I am a poor student as well as an earnest reader of your *Review*. As my father is a government employee, he can hardly maintain a family of eight, to say nothing of buying me your expensive *Review*. Formerly, nearly every day when I returned home from school, I dropped in at a bookstore nearby to read a little of your magazine. But, unfortunately, this bookstore was closed down two weeks ago because of shortage of money. Since then I have not seen your *Review*.

My dear editor, can you send me some copies of your paper free of charge? I hope you will remember one who is an earnest reader of your esteemed *Review*.

K. C. L.

Foochow, Fukien,
February 1, 1948.

(A three month subscription to the REVIEW has been entered in K. C. L.'s name, through the kindness of an American reader.—EDITOR).

Gandhi's Death

To The Editor:

I was nearly broken down with grief att learning of Gandhi's death by assassination. That such a great soul and a saint as he was should have died in such a tragic way! I could not control my mournful sentiment and great anger at the murder.

Gandhi had devoted his whole life for the independence of his fatherland and advocated the use of peaceful, unviolent ways to attain this aim. He was regarded as the greatest living force in India during his lifetime. His death is not only a great loss to India but is much lamented by the whole world. Next to Franklin D. Roosevelt, we have lost one of the most peace-loving friends of the world.

India and China are neighbors. These two countries are similar in many respects and both are now in a pitiable, wretched plight. Gandhi's death, therefore, should also be deeply felt by the Chinese people. We Chinese and Indians, should deeply sympathize with each other and closely unite henceforth.

Let us Chinese and Indian people strive hand in hand to achieve what the deceased Mahatma Gandi desired: "I see no poverty in the world of tomorrow, no wars, no revolutions, no bloodshed."

Finally as a faithful reader of your magazine let me hope that there is a bright future in store for the *China Weekly Review*.

T. C. CHANG.

Wuchang, Hupeh,
February 2, 1948.

Into The Pit

To The Editor:

With the publication of my letter in the January 31 issue of the *Review*, I soon received two letters from penfriends—one from Nanking, saying that he was glad to read my letter in the *Review* and encouraging me to study hard so as to make great progress in English; the other from Nanchow, stating that he is a sophomore, interested in English but cannot afford to subscribe to any English language periodical. I was then deeply moved by the latter's pressing situation and immediately sent him by express four issues of the *Review*. But my own economic situation is no better than his; my subscription to your paper will expire on February 21, 1948 and I cannot afford to resume it because of the indigent economic condition of my father who is one of the poor public functionaries groaning under the heavy burden of life. Yet I will write you from time to time.

Today is the Lunar New Year's Day. The sound of firecrackers, laughters, gambling etc. is everywhere in Sian. But I feel sad and I hate this day. I think of my relatives and friends suffering under the hoof of the looting soldiers. I think of the millions of refugees, wandering about in the street, shivering with cold, threatened by hunger. I think of the numerous poor public servants who, in order to fill their rice bowls, have run into debt for presenting expensive gifts to their higher-ups. Only a very few people can spend the day joyfully; the majority of the Chinese are in fearful state of mind.

After this day, more hard days will be coming. How can the farmers till their land when they facing starvation? How can students attend school when their fathers cannot even make ends meet? It is said that the tuition fee of the middle schools in Sian for the forthcoming semester will be at least CN$2,000,000, to say nothing of the boarding fee and the costs of uniforms, books and other incidentals. Except for the compradores, bureaucrats, speculators and hoarders, who can bear such a high cost of education? Students in large numbers will be forced to quit school. All these things are bestowed by the Civil War which is dragging China down into the pit.

CHIA CHUNG-YI.

Sian, Shansi,
February 10, 1948.

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Important Notice

IN view of the fact that we have been receiving a great number of unsigned letters and announcements from students and student groups during the past few weeks, we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the following notice which the *Review* has been in the habit of printing in these pages from time to time:

The *China Weekly Review* will not publish anonymous letters in these columns. Every letter intended for publication must bear the writer's NAME and ADDRESS, for the information of the editors. **In cases of group petitions, statements or announcements, the letter must be signed by a responsible official or delegate, likewise for the information of the *Review*.** If it is specially pointed out that if the author wishes to have his letter published under an assumed name, or his initials, this will be complied with, and his identity will not be divulged. However, in all instances the *Review* must be aware of the identity of the writer if he expects to see his communication appearing in these columns.—Editor.

Quiet Election

To The Editor:

It is said that an old bottle cannot be filled with new wine without some consequent outburst. Similarly, old China cannot accept the spirit of democracy without some agitation. The first general elections held last year disclosed the Government's dictatorship and people's ignorance. Newspapers reported that the election of the legislators proceeded more smoothy than that of the people's delegates. As a matter of fact, however, this election was ridiculous and undemocratic.

In Tsinkiang, the spoils of votes were divided into four parts: 36 votes for Wu Chung-chiang, 36 for Lean Mou, 8,000 for Yea Dou-yen and 200,000 for Haung Tse-tsun. The four candidates for the Legislative Yuan had come to a compromise in advance, so there was no quarrel or fighting such as occurred in the elections last year.

I went to the polls and asked for my vote. The officials there told me that for the above reason they had voted for me.

WILLIAM TANG.

Tsinkiang, Fukien,
February 2, 1948.

Collaborator's Paradise

To The Editor:

Three of us wept when we read Andrew Roth's "The French Aren't French in Indo-China" (*China Weekly Reivew*, February 7). We all have some pro-Allied and pro-American war records to boast of but are living as political refugees on the charity of those who amassed fortunes by collaborating with the Japanese. We were not heroes of Taierchwang who were never rewarded properly. Nevertheless, we fought, suffered and sacrificed in the interests of the Allied cause.

Throughout East Asia, though the Axis might have lost the battles their collaborators have won the war. Andrew Roth's denunciation of French colonial power in supporting the traitors against the patriots is not an exception to the general rule.

At this moment, in front of us on our table are copies of Hongkong's *China Mail* which has printed many letters from its readers complaining of the arrogance and superiority of the Mikado's friends. One lawyer, who was an official during the occupation, is now so important that he is practically the KMT's legal counsel in the Colony. Only yesterday, the paper reported that he flew to Shanghai with representatives of the Chinese Government in connection with an extradition case. Earlier he defended, though he lost the case, the *National Times*, mouthpiece of the Kuomintang in Hongkong.

Another member of the Chinese Council before, during and after the enemy occupation is actually the ruler of Hongkong. He and his father-in-law are directors of most of the important banks and firms in this territory. His name figures as prominently now as when he was under the Kempeitai. Early allied intelligence reported that he shouted, "Down with Anglo-American Aggressors!" when he welcomed Isogai. Protector of all influential collaborators, this infallible bigshot took over rice control from the Swatow merchants, and was honored with an O.B.E. or something similar! Whoever attempts to criticize him is likely to be persecuted.

The man who removed the statue of Queen Victoria for the Nipponese is now making HK$500,000 a month, said Denis Victor, a Greek-American. Victor, in the headlines during last year's treason and war crime trials as a witness for the prosecution, made this statement in a long letter published in the *China Mail*.

There are many descriptions by letter writers of how patriots have been disapproved of while traitors have attained power in Siam, Japan, the Philippines and China. In all these places leaders known in pre-war days as pro-Japanese aggression elements, are at present determining policy.

General Douglas MacArthur and the United States Government are held responsible for all such injustices. General MacArthur's special favors granted to the Japanese and their collaborators will alienate all persons who would be likely to help America in the coming war. And MacArthur is not likely to command the loyalty of the Nipponese and their collaborators who look down upon the Yankees as fools and General MacArthur as the fool of all fools.

East Asia is indeed the paradise of collaborators, thanks to General MacArthur's policy of making Japan a bulwark against the Bolsheviks.

YOUNG SHING-SEN.

Hongkong,
February 10, 1948.

Serving The People

To The Editor:

I think you should be proud of the *Review* which strives for the independence, equality and well-being of human beings and says what most publications dare not say. You are serving not only the Chinese people but all the people throughout the world.

On the occasion of the Lunar New Years' Celebrations, I sincerely offer my hearty congratulations for your happiness and prosperity, and a long life for the *China Weekly Review*. I enjoy reading everything in it whether about China or abroad.

JOHN PAO-KUANG WU.

Canton, Kwangtung,
February 12, 1948.

Who's Who in China

Chang Tao-ming

（張 壽 民）

CHANG TAO-MING, director, Bureau of Cereal-land Assessments, Ministry of Food, and member of Kuomintang; born in Kwangchi, Hupeh, 1907; graduated from the Department of Political Science & Economics, China University, Wuchang, Hupeh; studied at London University, England; appointed by the National Government as secretary of the Chinese Labor Representative Group to the 19th International Labor Conference at Geneva from May to September, 1935; magistrate, Honyang, Hupeh from May, 1937 to June, 1938; magistrate, Pingkiang, Hunan, from November, 1938 to January, 1939; director, Kwangtung Bureau of Taxation on Tobacco and Alcohol, Ministry of Finance from April, 1939 to January, 1941; director, Kwangtung Bureau of General Taxation, Ministry of Finance from January to July, 1941; commissioner, Kwangtung Provincial Government and director of the Kwangtung Provincial Department, Ministry of Finance from May, 1941 to September, 1945; chief commissioner of the Economic Committee of the 4th War Zone, Executive Yuan from July, 1941 to May, 1942; controller, Administration of Cereal-land Assessments, Kwangtung from January, 1942 to May, 1944; special commissioner of the Ministry of Food for Canton and Kowlooh from September, 1945 to April, 1946; councillor, Ministry of Food from April to September, 1946; director of the Bureau of Cereal-land Assessments, Ministry of Food since September 1946; address: Bureau of Cereal-land Assessments, Ministry of Food, Nanking.

"CORRIGENDUM: Misprint in the biography of Mr. Chia Ching-Teh published in this column in the January 24 issue of the *Review*: "Commissioner of Personnel, Examination Yuan" should be corrected to read "Minister of Personnel."

Ward Road Jail

To The Editor:

Permit us, through the medium of your columns, to express ourselves. We are ardent readers of your magazine, and have deep respect for the facts you print. We admire your stand against injustice and persecution of individuals.

Being ruthlessly persecuted by jail authorities, we, the inmates of Ward Road Jail, appeal to public opinion for assistance, and moral support. The first vital question concerns our food problem. Each inmate receives 30 ounces of bread and four ounces of boiled vegetables per day and nothing more! It is impossible to sustain long on such a meager diet, therefore, we are subject to maladies from malnutrition. Adequate medical help is out of the question. On numerous occasions we have witnessed medical supplies bearing the UNRRA insignia being unloaded from trucks, but in spite of this all one can get in the jail "hospital" is an aspirin tablet.

At present our plight is even worse. We were not issued any blankets or warm clothes and, at the same time, we are denied any winter apparel from outside. Our heatless concrete building is like an ice-box. The administration disregards our intolerable misery.

Even worse, this is nothing compared to the inhuman way in which we are treated. Our legitimate requests are ignored, and if we persist brute force is the usual answer. In fact, a few days ago, one of us tried to complain to the chief-inspector, with the result that our brutal sergeant of the guards and several others used their fists. Next day, the same group, while searching an old man, nearly broke his arms while forcefully undressing him. He was charged with being in possession of a few cigarettes and was promptly transferred to block "P.Q." especially designed to terrorize the Chinese inmates. Such severe punishment we consider unwarranted.

Most jails in the world allow smoking, and the convicted Chinese citizens are not denied this habit. We consider the ruthless ban on smoking extremely unjustified. You suffer two punishments simultaneously: loss of freedom and denial of a lifelong civilized habit. After all, the inmate is unable to walk across the street to buy a pack of cigarettes. He is compelled to buy them inside the jail through a sort of monopoly, operated at great profit by some privileged convicts conjointly with corrupt guards.

There is no limit to "supplies," provided you pay enough cash. When we protested against this, the administration retaliated by summoning nearly 200 guards with the clear intention of beating us up. It was more like an unruly mob than a disciplined body of government officers. The critical situation was saved only by our presence of mind. There are only 19 of us convicted foreigners of several nationalities.

In addition to our physical deprivations, we are also subject to moral pressure. Our administration not only pays no attention to our rehabilitation but, on the contrary, develops in us a sense of wickedness, malice and despair. Our feelings about justice and the dignity of man are gradually being suppressed. In our times, such relationship between human beings is extremely unpleasant, especially for us foreigners. For by such manifestations we are inclined to judge the whole nation. But we refuse to believe that China holds to such principles. Moreover, it is even harder to bear, for among us there are men who were active participants in China's struggle against Japanese aggression.

19 FOREIGN PRISONERS
IN WARD ROAD JAIL

Shanghai,
February 6, 1948.

No Goering

To The Editor:

With reference to Shao Chun-shu's letter in the February 7 issue, I feel sure that the alleged forcible seizure and summary confiscation of Li Chung-mun's 85 taels of gold by the Chinese Maritime Customs officials took place in the Kowloon walled city. In that area the Chinese Government has never given up its jurisdiction.

Mr. G. N. Gawler, Commissioner of Chinese Maritime Customs, stationed in Hongkong, is British subject. He makes certain that any business done by his organization is legal. He knows, also, that the favor of his adopted government depends on how much hospitality the local regime extends him. He is known to be backed by T. V. Soong in Canton, who is certainly neither a CC chieftain nor a Blueshirt terrorist. Mr. Gawler is holding only one job, and that is the Shui Wu Shih of Kowloon Kuan. He is no Pooh-bah in a Mikado's comedy. Nor can he be honored with Hermann Goering's multitude of medals earned through usurpation of power.

In short, it can't happen here and such conduct could not have been tolerated in any place other than the Chinese walled city. The great Napoleon once said that England is a nation of shopkeepers. How could a shopkeeper permit gold bars to be taken out of his own territory without a protest?

CHIA TEH-SAT.

Hongkong,
February 9, 1948.

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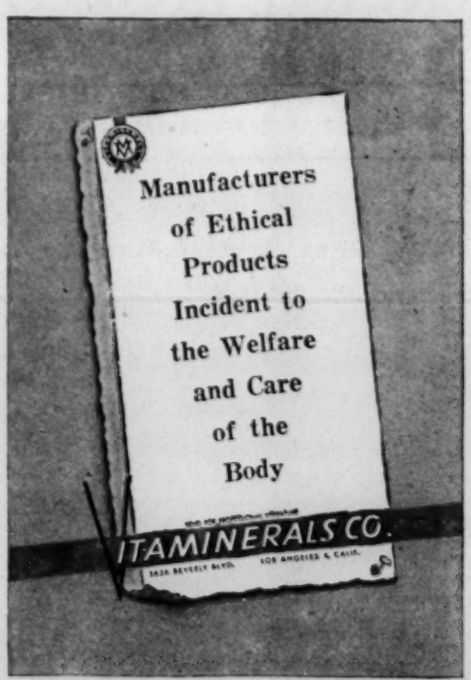

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Vol. 108 Shanghai, Saturday, February 21, 1948 No. 12

Censorship Again Denied

GOVERNMENT Information Office Director Hollington K. Tong last week issued a denial of the latest "report" of impending censorship. This time Dr. Tong explained the essential incorrectness of a press report alleging that the Government plans a nation-wide postal and telegraph censorship.

As usual we welcomed Dr. Tong's denial. We hope that the present limited inspection of the mails and the restrictions on the telegraphs will be removed shortly, although it is more likely that they will remain or, possibly, be increased in scope as the war situation worsens. According to Dr. Tong partial censorship of suspicious letters exists only in areas where actual hostilities are taking place. However, he said, in such areas no censorship of telegrams is exercised. The only restriction upon telegrams is that they must not be in code. He further added that there was no censorship of outgoing press dispatches.

While we cannot but regret that censorship exists in any form whatsoever, Dr. Tong's continued attention to such reports as the foregoing is indeed encouraging. It seems obvious that Dr. Tong is doing his best to keep the censorship question publicly aired by inquiring of the proper authorities each time such a "report" appears and then answering it. If nothing else, Dr. Tong's activities force various branches of the National Government to declare themselves periodically on the question of censorship.

* * *

WHILE Dr. Tong seems to be doing his best to aid the press in this all important matter and while the newly-enforced constitution guarantees press freedom, the whole situation regarding the press in China is far from satisfactory. The reasons for this are many and varied. Some reasons can be laid directly at the door of the local or national officials, while many are an inevitable result of the poor state of development of the press in China, which in turn can be traced to the generally feudalistic nature of the political and economic conditions of vast areas of this country.

In Shanghai, China's most cosmopolitan and "Westernized" or "modernized" city, the press has developed along lines somewhat similar to that in Western countries. There is a relatively high degree of literacy here which results in comparatively high circulation figures. Further, the commerce and industry of the city have reached a level where there is sufficient advertising to contribute substantial amounts of revenue to many papers. This, in turn, makes for more financial freedom from ambitious political or military figures. However, the process has not gone far enough—even in Shanghai—and many papers still have to depend upon a certain amount of subsidy from one or more "important personages."

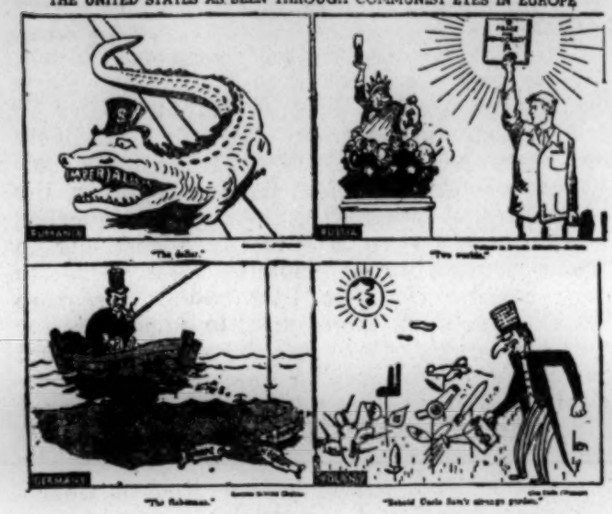
Also in Shanghai we have a situation whereby important political or financial groups—apparently through influence and pressure from Nanking—have managed to "move in" on already established publications or to secure the necessary permission from the Government for the establishment of new organs. However, Shanghai still has the best press of any city in the country. We use "best" in the sense that this city's press compares more favorably than any other city's with the Anglo-American concept of a free and responsible press.

* * *

THE condition of the press in many other towns and cities of China, however, is indeed deplorable. In some areas local satraps exercise outright censorship, flatly telling editors what they can and cannot publish. Many an editor in the hinterland receives periodic summons from the governor, mayor, military commander, party chief, or one of their hirelings who puts him on the carpet for sins of commission and omission and instructs him as to future policy.

This, of course, is not to be taken as a blanket indictment of either the press or the local governing personnel in outlying areas. There are exceptions. In Kweilin, for instance, during the war the *Ta Kung Pao* and the *Kwangsi Jih Pao* were model papers, far surpassing in energy, public service, etc. most papers in Chungking. This was a result, mainly, of the intelligent and enlightened attitude then taken by General Pai Chung-hsi and other local officials. In Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province, a most peculiar situation existed prior to the removal of the warlord governor, Lung Yun. Almost daily the local press was filled with stories—most of them accurate—attacking the various shortcomings of the Central Government. To the casual observer, it appeared that an astonishing amount of press freedom was permitted. However, constant reading of the Kunming press revealed that it was always the Central Government's shortcomings which were attacked. The press was forbidden even to mention the many local evils, such as the promotion of opium growing and smoking, which was allowed by Lung's administration. The answer was obvious. Being a more-or-less independent warlord, Lung missed no opportunity to embarrass

THE UNITED STATES AS SEEN THROUGH COMMUNIST EYES IN EUROPE



the National Government. In reality he was a reactionary feudal chieftain who held the province and the people as his fief and who undoubtedly had not the slightest idea even of the meaning of the words, "free press."

Today, equally undesirable situations exist in many rural or metropolitan areas throughout the country. Literacy is low and so are circulations. Industry is more or less non-existent, while trade and other forms of business are of a very rural nature. The papers depend upon subsidies from rich patrons and/or owners in order to cover their deficits.

Under such conditions it is little wonder that the press leaves much to be desired. There is a great deal to be done, even in Shanghai, and we possibly will never see a press which can equal that of the West in size, service and responsibility. It is also extremely dubious that we shall ever see the principal of freedom of the press held in such veneration and respect by the peoples and governments of China as is true in the West. However, it is altogether possible that the press in China can develop a great deal further than it has and it is thus encouraging to see a director of information—a man of cabinet rank — continually concerning himself with the problem of censorship. Dr. Tong's efforts may not avert the return of some form of censorship, but at least he is keeping the question before the public and the Government and, we imagine, will do his best toward securing and keeping as free a flow of information in China as possible.

Forced Loans, Etc.

RECENTLY the local papers have carried a number of stories from Nanking relating how this or that important official has announced a plan for solving China's present plight. Most of these "plans" have been of an economic nature and also have been largely concerned with emphasizing self-help aspects, although they usually do mention how any US aid should be spent.

While we would be the last to belittle any honest plans for solving the Government's predicament, especially any plans containing substantial points pertaining to self-help, we think it is somewhat of a coincidence that these plans are all being announced on the eve of American assistance. The Chinese Government has had about six months to draft and *implement* a plan for self-help since General Wedemeyer made his investigation trip to China. Admittedly, a few plans—or schemes—have been introduced, but as far as we can see, none has been very successful.

Now it appears that the State Department has finally decided that the time is ripe for approaching Congress for a contribution to Nanking from the American taxpayer. It now appears—perhaps conveniently so—that the time has also arrived for various Nanking strategists to come forth with stern and forceful plans for solving the economic problem largely by self help. A suspicious minded person might almost be led to believe that such statements are timed to hit the American press at about the same moment that the State Department's request for China Aid is placed on the desks of the American Congressmen.

One of the more recent of these "plans" is by Chien Kuan-shan, a member of the Legislative Yuan. Chien, who is described by *United Press* as a leading member of the Yuan and who is considered to be one of the "strong men" in that organization, has decided that he will introduce a measure calling for "forced" loans from China's rich men. He says, and quite correctly, that previous loans based on the "free purchase" principle have failed. He proposes the use of stern measures which would call for the compulsory "rationing" of US$500,000,000 worth of Government bonds among the rich men of the country.

Such an idea is not new. It has been tried, with varying degrees of success, in other countries. While we are generally opposed to any such drastic measures, we must admit that a lot of China's idle capital is in the hands of the country's idle rich and that it might not be a bad idea to shake a few Chinese Rockefeller's loose from some of their dough. On the other hand, it is a little too rough, we think, and certainly would interfere with many of the established laws under which this country is supposed to be governed. Further, it is always a mistake to assume that a bankrupt government can be got out of financial straits by a soak-the-rich plan. While a government is technically bankrupt because it has no money, such a position is usually the result of an earlier bankruptcy in ideas and moral principles. If Nanking has no money now, what assurance is there that the securing of a financial shot in the arm via an internal capital levy or via an external loan will do more than temporarily ease the situation? Nanking has no money now because it has administered the country poorly and because it has been too weak to prevent a rebellion from becoming a revolution.

We can expect nothing but temporary improvements from any money obtained—internally or externally—unless concrete and constructive

reforms are introduced in the capital. Talks about various plans for a capital levy make newspaper headlines and possible carry to the uninitiated abroad an impression of getting down to serious sacrifice and work, but that is about all. As we have pointed out many times in the past, the best way to raise money is to enforce the existing tax laws. If taxes were collected properly Nanking could go a long way toward financing its civil war by itself. A sensible graduated income tax, a levy on idle capital, etc. are certainly in order, but loose and immature talk about a poorly conceived soak-the-rich program certainly is not.

Kicking Over The United Nations

THE United States and Russia were deadlocked in Korea, The small peninsula country, cut off from Asia's northern mainland by a mountain rim, had become a pawn of the two great powers. Both of these powers claimed that they were instituting reforms. There were possibly some elements of truth in their claims. However, it seemed as clear as black and white that their major reason for staying in Korea was primarily military. They opposed each other across a line—the 38th parallel—which had no geographic significance but which was as much an iron curtain as that which exists in Central Europe.

The United Nations, recognizing the injustice to Korea, stepped in. The American people and policy makers were glad of this. They did not want to see a Communist-dominated Korea, it is true. But they seem prepared to withdraw from Korea to military bastions further east. They realized that their leaving probably would be an invitation to Communist domination. To them, however, American domination was unsavory. There was hope that Russia might withdraw simultaneously. However, it was known that Russia had developed a tightly-knit, well-disciplined body in northern Korea prepared to establish a Communist dictatorship in the name of Koreans.

The United Nations sent a representative group of men to Korea. These men obtained the whole-hearted support of the United States. Excellent provisions were made for their personal comfort. They were given access to American files on Korea. They were free to travel whenever and wherever they wanted in the American zone. The group's object was to prepare for the establishment of an independent Korea. The United States backed the United Nations toward this end.

The United Nations sought to enter the Russian zone. Not a chance, the Russians said. Not even for a peek. Although a member of the United Nations—yes, even a prominent member of the Security Council—the Russians refused to go along on a measure which had won the overwhelming democratically-voted backing of the United Nations. It was a kick in the pants to everything for which the United Nations stands. It was a kick in the pants to our hopes for peace.

* * *

NOW, just as a personal report was being made to Lake Success, the Russians have finally acted. The report, incidentally, was being made by Mr. K. P. S. Menon, an Indian diplomat whose ability and honesty were highly recognized while he was ambassador to China. The Russian-controlled radio at Pyongyang announced that the northern Korean authorities had proclaimed a "democratic people's republic" in Soviet-occupied Korea which was ultimately intended to embrace the American zone with its capital at Seoul. Along with the new republic went the trappings of nationalism—a "constitution," an army, a flag. The flag was not the Korean national flag, but one with a red star and hammer and sickle.

In addition to having flaunted the United Nations, the Russians were openly, apparently without any qualms, violating the Moscow decision.

We should like to see Korea free and independent. We believe the United States would

"CAUGHT BETWEEN THEM"

Demetriades in Nea (Athens)

Waiting for the Doctor!

—Donahey, in The Cleveland Plain Dealer

like to see Korea free and independent. We realize that the United States has made many mistakes in its administration of Korea. A Korean recently returned from Korea has told us that the Americans there are regarded as little better than the Japanese. However, we believe that honest, if blundering, effort is being made in the Southern Zone. We believe that while civil liberties are being curtailed, conditions at least are probably better than north of the 38th parallel. The most eloquent testimony to this is the vast movement of Koreans from north to south. Few observers have been allowed into northern Korea, so we cannot make a faithful comparison of conditions. However, several of those observers who managed to sneak across have come back with tales of brutality and utter lack of respect for the Korean people in the Russian zone.

We believe that despite the attitude and actions of the Russians, the United Nations should carry on, hopeless as the prospect seems, in an effort to bring freedom and independence to Korea. In Korea the United Nations has another "last chance."

News Of The Week

AS the reader may have already noted, in this issue we have resumed publication of the "News of the Week." The decision was made in compliance with pressing requests and suggestions from our readers.

Many Chinese readers residing in the interior, we are informed, do not have any chance to read English language newspapers. However, they are anxious to know what is happening in this country and all over the world. They want to follow the latest developments and keep abreast of the times.

Their desire is quite natural and praiseworthy. The world in which we are living is in a fermenting process of transformation. Some people call it evolution; others, revolution. Although different people may call it by different names, it is a universally recognized fact that this world of ours has undergone profound change as the result of the Second World War and is still changing. We have to catch up with the march of events or drop hopelessly behind.

It is no easy job to read newspapers intelligently and profitably. It requires a lot of basic knowledge and background information to tell the truths from falsehoods, to distinguish the facts from propaganda, Sometimes it is necessary to read between the lines or behind the lines to find out the "inside story."

We don't claim much knowledge of world affairs, or even of the complicated China problem, which has proved so much of a puzzle to foreigners. However, it will be the policy of the "News of the Week" to make a systematic review and an objective, unbiased analysis of the most important events of the week in order to help our readers understand what is happening around them.

The Trade Tangle

ACCURATE information on commercial activities in China is scarce, so it is not surprising to find that business people abroad sometimes have very peculiar ideas about what is going on in this country. In the opinion of many Shanghai businessmen, a great service could be done to both foreigners and Chinese engaged in commerce here if foreign consulates and chambers of commerce kept their co-nationals abroad informed on current events in China. Undoubtedly, this would entail a considerable amount of hard work, particularly in view of the hundreds of announcements made in the past six months referring to foreign trade alone.

China trade, according to a recent statement, is "a strangely shapeless, non-committal and inconclusive affair." There have been so many new regulations from which so many important facts have been omitted, that it is not surprising if neither the consulates nor the chambers of commerce find it easy to make sense out of the whole thing. Consequently, the average exporter in America and Europe knows little about the actual state of trade except that it is fraught with obstacles, just as it is in most other countries at present, added to which such phrases as "Schedule One," "Schedule Two," and "Pre-zero Orders," are always cropping up to make the picture even more confusing.

Nor does the would-be buyer of Chinese products realize the hazards he must face. He does

not understand that the Chinese exporter is not a free operator, or that just as certain products may be imported by private firms only to be marketed by Government monopolies, many exports are handled exclusively by the same monopolies.

Importers abroad are aware that China wants to obtain as much "hard currency" as possible, and that, therefore, she quotes her prices in dollars or Swiss francs whenever possible. But they do not know that when it comes to buying from abroad—even from a country which is supposed to pay in dollars for its purchases from China—the Central Bank will not grant a single dollar for exchange. The foreign exporter finds that he must accept pounds Sterling for his cargo.

* * *

OUR methods of foreign exchange calculation remain a mystery to the trader living abroad. As we said above, the Chinese exporter is anxious to receive "hard currency" for his goods. He quotes in US or Swiss currency even if the future client is in Sweden or Belgium. Whereupon, the said client usually spends good money for a cable explaining that he is willing to pay the counter value in pounds Sterling, and that instead of paying US$40 he will pay £10.

Such a situation is rather amusing in that the official rate for the pound Sterling is US$4 to one in New York, Switzerland and Sweden—but not in Shanghai. Here, to facilitate trading, the official rate is worth between US$3.05 and US$3.20, a piece of information with which the businessman abroad is unacquainted.

* * *

IN addition to explaining the intricacies of import regulations and exchange rules, such items as where or where not to buy wolfram ore, antimony, tung oil and other well known China products, should also be explained to prospective foreign traders. It should be made clear that while trading in such commodities is not monopolized by Government-controlled trusts, no private commerical enterprise is legally allowed to handle transactions in such commodities without direct or indirect interference by the Government. In fact, the chambers of commerce should make it perfectly clear that instead of wasting his time with private firms, the importer abroad would save time, money and energy by dropping his private contracts and contacting the right Government office directly.

Six months ago we declared in these pages that regulations, restrictions and rules in China were growing like Topsy. To find a single person in the whole of Shanghai who is informed on current trading procedure is almost an impossibility. As the months go by, trading with China becomes more and more complicated, hampered by a maze of rules which, instead of performing their job of clarifying the situation, tend only to deepen the confusion. In our opinion it is high time to unravel the surplus red tape that is making China's trade such a "strangely shapeless....affair."

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

Blind Leading The Blind

February 17, 1923.

ACCORDING to an article by Mr. Dailey elsewhere in this issue, there are now approximately 60,000 Russians in China, a great percentage of whom are in destitute circumstances...In the city of Hungchun, more than 300 Russian children are being cared for. The Chinese authorities in Manchuria are doing their best to handle the problem, but, as Mr. Dailey says, it is almost a case of the blind leading the blind, for the Chinese have never been able to handle their own destitute and have always depended upon outsiders chiefly the Americans, to feed their famine stricken...The plight of the Russians in China is more than a China problem. The foreign communities as well as the Chinese are almost at the limit of their resources and some assistance must be forthcoming from abroad. We know of no better promoter of bolshevism and disorder than the spectacle of thousands of Russians starving to death in China.

* * *

Foreigners Misinformed

FOREIGNERS have a very poor idea of what China has been doing during the years of the Republic and generally are prejudiced against the Chinese because of the frequent political disturbances, civil wars, brigandage and the dark side of Chinese national life. They only know that China is marvellously rich in natural resources which are hidden and untouched. They are familiar with the old, one-sided and exaggerated statements that "China has the most inadequate means of communication and transportation in the world," and "few industrial plants of modern type can be found in China."...They think that the slow progress of the nation politically, which is caused by internal troubles, also means lack of power of development on the part of the people. They misunderstand to a considerable extent the Chinese people because of the information which they get from other countries through the circulation of misinformation. (H. Y. Moh).

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Packing Up

February 19, 1938.

CAMERAMEN, representing the large film companies in the United States, who have been photographing the war, are said to be packing up their equipment preparatory to departure from China. According to an article in *The China Press*, they claim everything has been photographed, crashing planes, machinegunning of civilians, destruction of factories, flight of refugees and even the airbombing of American war vessels. Any further pictures would be "only duplications," state the cameramen, who believe the war is over, at least from the standpoint of interest abroad in newsreels of military violence in Asia.

* * *

One-Party System Attacked

A report through *Reuter* service from Hankow said that the Government leaders had expressed the view that the Chinese Communists could not be depended upon, while communist spokesman, Chou En-lai states that direct participation of Soviet Russia in the Sino-Japanese war would "do more harm than good to China." This statement caused considerable misgivings in Kuomintang circles. The Communists charged the Kuomintang with aspirations for a dictatorship. A virtual press war is in progress between the *Wuhan Jih Pao* (Kuomintang organ) and the *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* (Communist organ.) The Kuomintang paper advocated that China be brought under the dictatorship of the Kuomintang, but both General Mao Tse-tung and General Chu Teh, influential Red leaders, attack the one-party dictatoriship system...General Mao charged that the Nationalists were trying to make the Chinese Communist Army illegal.

VILLAGE LIFE AND THE CIVIL WAR: THROUGH THE EYES OF A LIBERATED LAO PAI HSING

(The awthor of this article is a foreigner who has travelled extensively in the Liberated Areas. Having spoken to many lao pai hsing during his travels, the author has made an endeavor to interpret their attitude towards "village life and the Civil War."—Editor.).

I HAVE not always been the village warrior, dressed in padded garments, armed with rifle and bayonet, with hand grenades and ammunition belt strapped to my body. This white towel wrapped around my head did not, in the past, have the community significance which it now has, of support to the Border Region Government.

For I am one of the sons of Han, who, together with my fellow villagers, is defending the very soil which our families farm. And since this is the united effort of the people, our defense must be successful, or death will be our lot. My family does not want to go back to a debt-ridden, poverty-stricken life. The new government tells us it will lead us to independence and prosperity, and although it is hard to understand the talk on how this will be achieved, I, for one, will follow the leaders that have given us land, freedom and self-respect.

Pre-Japanese Era

I am the eldest son of Wang Lo-fu. For many years, our family members have been honorable tillers of the land of the Yin family. For 33 years, I have lived in Youthful East Mouth (Dun Ch'ing Kou), a small village of 93 families in Central Hopei. During normal crop years, we could eat two meals a day, consisting of dishes prepared from soya and kaoliang flour, mixed with millet. Beans and cabbage, together with the rarer wheat flour, rounded out our diet.

After a successful harvest, or at the marriage of one of our relations in the village, there might be delicious pork and a merry time. And on the New Year's festival of those good years, we would kill a chicken and serve it with rare fruit and nuts. This does not mean that we did not raise a few chickens and a pig, for we did. But our family would sell the eggs and animals for cash to pay back debts, or to buy bean-oil, cloth and other necessities. Of course, we did not stay up late at night, for the bean-oil lamps which lit the two rooms in which we lived were costly.

During the time my father lived, many troubles plagued our family. Perhaps there would be a flood in the late summer, which destroyed the crops, or else, in another year, there would be a drought. Once, we lost most of the grain to locusts. Then the 11 mou of the Yin family could not keep us alive, and we would borrow some crude, unmilled grain from Yin Chin-feng, the elder of the Yin family.

1927 Flood

Because Yin was a kind man, he would not charge us the full double amount of grain, nor make us grind it before repayment. We needed only to repay the original grain, plus an additional 50 percent on our first crop. Nevertheless, after the great flood of 1927, and at other times before harvest, it was necessary to eat tree roots or leaves and even to steal from the wealthier gentry in other areas, in order to stay alive.

Still, we managed to live. We all worked in the fields during the plowing, planting, growing and harvesting seasons. Our 11 mou of Yin family land was better than that of many other tenants. The Yin family would provide us with seed and lend us an ox to plow the land. We supplied the fertilizer, collected by little sister and myself from the animal droppings and our wastes. In return for the use of the Yin family land and ox, we payed 60 percent of our harvest to the Yin family. This was a good agreement, extended especially to my father, for other tenants, such as the Chiangs, paid 70 percent of their grain.

During the lean year of 1930, my honorable father, Wang Lo-fu, died. In order to provide a dutiful funeral, I borrowed the equivalent of 50 silver dollars from Yin Chin-feng, the elder, at the good rate of 30 percent annual interest. But after several years, the principal and interest increased, in spite of all my efforts and the efforts of my family, which then consisted of my old grandmother, my mother, and a 10-year-old sister. The women helped with the summer field work, and ran the household. They would spin cotton thread from the combed cotton which we grew on one half mou of the poorer land.

My brave mother had borne eight children for my father, but except for younger sister and myself, they were carried off by cruel fate when still in infancy. My mother says that when I was three years old, I myself, nearly died from stomach-ache sickness, but was cured by the old witch lady, Chao Wen-cheng, who drove the sickness devils out of my body. However, the others, including my poor father, were finished eggs to these fierce gods.

While still a boy, I would watch the sons of the Yin family, and a few other land-owning gentry, go off to the school run by the old man Yin, who had retired as a colonel from the provincial army. But my father and the other tenant farmers could not afford to pay for our schooling, and, also, they needed the help of their sons in doing the farming chores.

Because of my responsibilities to my grandmother, mother and sister, there was not enough money to pay off the debts caused by my father's funeral, and so I could not afford to provide the doweries, gifts, decorations, middleman fees, firecrackers and feast to properly take a wife. It was even necessary, during 1933, to turn over our fat pig to Yin Liu-shu, the village chief, in order to avoid being taken off into the army.

The Japanese Era

When the Japanese devils came, all our difficulties multiplied. They would make the men in our village work many days on road and block-house construction, or transporting Japanese supplies. The rents on our land were further increased, because landlord Yin Chen-feng had to provide more grain and animals for the invaders' tax collectors. Also, there was double taxation, for many *pa-lu* and a few KMT guerrillas would make assessments to enable them to carry on their fight against the Japanese.

Thus, there were two government structures to make our burden of living heavier. Many times I thought that some of the other young men were fortunate to have been conscripted for work in Japan, Korea, Manchuria or the Japanese army, and taken away from our sick, war-

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wracked land. Yet, since I was the only man in the family and carefully tended to my local obligations, I was left alone. All in my family had to work the harder, for the Japanese had taken the Yin family's oxen away from them. We pulled the plow with our bodies, and even the old men came to hate the Nipponese enough so that they would inform the guerrilas of the bandy legged ones' movements.

Our village was much concerned over the activities of the underground warriors, for if the Japs caught them fighting near our village, there was the grave danger that all our homes would be razed to the ground, our women raped, and our lives snuffed out. Truly life was hard!

To add to our troubles, we were required to raise certain quantities of cotton, millet and wheat, which was then sold to Japanese monopolies at such low prices that we received little or no profit for our labor. Salt, bean-oil and other necessities had to be bought at an exorbitant cost. The invaders even made us plant an obnoxious weed called the castor plant along the highways and on any open land. These monkey men cut down our sacred ancestoral burial ground trees and our clothing literally fell from our backs, as all the cotton was taken off and seemingly devoured by the Japanese.

The Liberation

It was with much happiness that Youthful East Mouth village greeted the defeat and withdrawal of the Japanese in the autumn of 1946. Now we all hoped for peace and prosperity.

The puppet troops announced that they represented the National Government of China, and disarmed many of the once proud invaders. However, the murderous fighting soon started again, this time between the puppets and the Eighth Route army men. But the Manchurian and Korean puppet troops cared little about destroying their fellow countrymen and only wanted to live to return to their native homes and have full bellies. So the *pa-lu* was able to overwhelm or obtain the surrender of many of the puppets. Their arms and those of the Japanese, were then carefully hoarded by these fierce soldiers of the Eighth Route army. When they passed through our village, they would call a general meeting and announce that they were our friends, and that they would not take anything from our village unless they repaid us for it. And when a soldier borrowed the door from my house to sleep on, I was glad to see it returned to me the next morning.

Along with the *pa-lu*, were a few unarmed men and women. One young man stayed on in our village. He talked with the elders and after he came to know us he urged the villagers to call public meetings. Such things as the need for reducing rents, abolishing debts, electing village leaders, starting a school and organizing a village militia were openly discussed. There were many such meetings which wasted much of our time, for the new government insisted that women have the same privileges and responsibilities in the community as the men. I often grumbled, and quoted the popular saying that "the communists' government has 10,000 meetings, while before, there were 10,000 taxes."

Big Village Meeting

One day, there was a big meeting of all the village about the need immediately to settle all debts and reduce the rents. Although I was in debt, it did not seem honest to me. I spoke up and said, "Another person's land has supported the young and old of our family! Why should we want to abolish the debts and reduce the rents?" Fiery old Fai Pei then turned to me and declared, "Land is a dead thing. If we did not till it, not one grain from the land could be harvested. Although the landlord, Yin Chin-feng had 800 mou of land, wouldn't he starve anyway? Think it over, who supports whom?" Fa Pei was strongly on the side of the government representative.

Nevertheless, I answered, "Although you put it that way, to forcefully reduce the rents and abolish debts goes strongly against my conscience." Also secretly, to myself, I thought, "After the departure of the *pa-lu* soldiery, and the return of the National government, the wronged Yin family would make our lot most difficult." Others must have felt the same.

Old man Fa Pei answered, "What is conscience? Most likely you still remember the debt you owe for the money you borrowed when your father died 16 years ago. Now, after all the years of repayment, you owe more than when you borrowed it. Does this go with your conscience?" On hearing this, tears came to my eyes and I cried out, "Yes, now I understand. Tomorrow I will certainly go over to the Yin family and settle accounts!" I did this, and found that Yin Chin-feng had escaped to Tientsin, and his other relatives did not seem to care about bargaining. We agreed to discharge the old debt for a few chickens.

Land Distributed

And so it was with the great majority of the 93 families that lived in Dun Ch'ing Kou. The debts were settled, and arrangements were made to distribute among us tenants the land of the Yin family, as well as that of the three other less important landlord families. This was done under the leadership of Fa Pei, whom we elected as head of the Peasant's Union. It has been no easy task to redistribute this land evenly among the tenant families among us according to productivity and family number. At first, we allowed the Yin family more than their due share, but after three redistributions, following the harvesting seasons, the land has been distributed in a way satisfactory to all. However, it must have taken us one-tenth of the 10,000 meetings in which to accomplish this.

The share for my family was three mou per person. Thus, there were 12 mou of average land for our own production. The government taxes amount to as much as 25 percent of the grain produced, although for the first few plantings, they were lower. With the increased income, we have been able to eat better and save enough to buy an ox to help with the plowing.

EAT AT

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In the last one and a half years, we have been able to purchase cheaply another 10 mou of wasteland that has not been cultivated for many years. This land, and the ox, have made me a middle farmer. Also, there were new government regulations which prohibited the commercialization of marriage, and so last year I, who am already 30 years old, was able to marry a woman from a neighboring village. For a long time we had looked upon each other with favor while working in the fields or going to market. There was little expense connected with marriage, except for the necessities of buying another two rooms, and just last month my "old lady" gave birth to a baby boy that was both white and fat. So now I feel that I am living more as a man should live.

Still Many Problems

However, life still has many problems, for the new government is always asking help in the transportation of wounded or supplies. We dig many ditches, and have destroyed the old Japanese fortifications and the old village wall. But we are impressed by the great need to fight to hold our land and our new social position. I have been elected leader of the village people's militia, and we train regularly in the early morning, or after our day's work, in the use of the rifle and bayonet, hand grenade, land mine and pistol.

Often we have to spend whole nights, and sometimes days, marching with other village militias to fight against the return of landlord Yin and his supporting soldiers. Then, too, there are the hated *mei-kuo* airplanes to machinegun and bomb us and our simple villages.

Of course, there are ideas supported by the government officials such as the destruction of the village temple, with which I disagree. However, I have learned to read a few characters in the school now housed in the temple, and from studying the wall newspaper, I can understand the foolishness of superstition.

My friends and I hope that soon there will be peace so that we can enjoy the fruits of our labors for the better life. But we also feel that it would be just as well to die rather than return to the old debt-ridden tenant days of the old government.

MACARTHUR WARS ON THE PRESS

Hugh Deane

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review.)

Tokyo, February 6 (Airmail).

CORRESPONDENTS here, aroused by General Douglas MacArthur's travel restrictions, have been giving the general what is probably the worst press of his career.

Secretary of the Army K. C. Royall has now modified the restrictions—a rare rebuff for MacArthur—but most correspondents are not satisfied. MacArthur's exclusion from Japan of Compton Pakenham, chief of the *Newsweek* Tokyo bureau, has raised a new issue, and the battle between MacArthur and the press promises to drag on.

In January, MacArthur imposed restrictions on travel by Tokyo correspondents to Far Eastern areas outside his theater. He decreed that correspondents departing for short trips to other Asian countries be issued one-way instead of round-trip travel orders.

New Clearance

This meant that they would have to apply for new theater clearance when they wished to return—at best a lengthy process entangled in red tape, at worst a bureaucratic device by which those in official disgrace could be barred from reentry.

Departing correspondents were also required to take their families with them, even a pregnant wife, (as Alpheus W. Jessup of McGraw-Hill publications learned) and were to be "relieved of responsibility," to quote the official jargon, for their homes in Tokyo.

Secretary Royall has modified MacArthur's policy by authorizing round-trip orders for departure from the theater not to exceed 30 days out of every six months. Correspondents hold that this period of time is too short to be practical.

MacArthur's action was directed against special correspondents—correspondents for particular newspapers, magazines and radio networks. At present the number of special correspondents stationed in Tokyo is large because of the presence of many who are expected to cover not only Japan but the entire Far East.

MacArthur's restrictions would deprive these correspondents of essential mobility—forcing them to find a new base of operations and leaving the news coverage of Japan largely in the hands of the "non-controversial" major news agencies.

Furthermore, by withholding theater clearance MacArthur can keep out correspondents whose writings have displeased him. The case of Compton Pakenham, a British-born Tory who has criticized the occupation from an ultra-rightist point of view, sets a precedent which can be used against liberal or leftist criticism.

Correspondents noted that an interoffice order concerning the case of CBS correspondent William Costello, the first victim of the new policy, indicated enclosure of a *New Republic* "article"—presumably one by Costello in the January 5 issue about the hoarded goods scandal.

Reportedly Andrew Roth, author of the well-known book *Dilemma in Japan*, is being denied entry to Japan on the grounds that he is not a full-time correspondent.

The early suspicion of special correspondents that their departure was the aim of the travel restrictions was confirmed in MacArthur's cable

(The above cartoon depicts General MacArthur digging a hole in the Japanese war criminals' jail. From Hwa Hsiang Pao.)

of January 27 to the Department of the Army: "Japan is unsuitable for use as a press base for all of Oriental Asia. The United States alone is competent to serve as such a base for American correspondents."

And even in the United States, MacArthur declared, restrictions should be applied: "Nor should the United States permit such correspondents to enter foreign areas without special consideration of each case and proper clearance for formal accreditation by the nation involved."

The Department of the Army has upheld MacArthur's view that Japan is unsuitable as a base for correspondents. It has ignored MacArthur's tradition-shattering advocacy of government control of the movements of correspondents.

Housing Shortage

MacArthur contends that the shortage of housing makes Japan unsuitable as a press base. Yet after two and a half years during which correspondents responsible for covering the entire Far East were admitted, correspondents occupy only 19 houses out of the 12,000 available to occupation personnel in Tokyo.

SCAP officials long have held that the major agencies provide adequate coverage of the news, which in their view consists largely of official statements and releases. Special correspondents, on the other hand, to quote Public Information Office officials, "make trouble," "nag MacArthur" and "dig in the gutter."

In the first weeks of the occupation Brigadier General Legrande Diller, Public Relations Office, announced a quota for correspondents entering Japan. Correspondents were convinced then that the object was to curtail the number of special correspondents in favor of the agencies. United action on their part, together with protests in the United States, caused the scheme to be abandoned.

At about the same time, open censorship was discontinued. But Diller and his successor, Brigadier General Frayne Baker (now a civilian), resorted to various forms of bribery and intimidation in their efforts to ensure a uniformly favorable press. The ineffectiveness of bribery caused Diller to remark to two correspondents: "We provide you with the best food, the best houses and the best transportation in the theater, and you still think you can write anything you want to out of here."

Whispering Campaign

Correspondents whose writings sometimes disagree with the official version of what is taking place in Japan have found themselves the enemy in a local cold war. They are the victims of officially-inspired whispering campaigns in which they are alleged to be everything from deliberate liars to Communists.

"Are you a Communist?" a G-2 official recently asked a correspondent who inquired about a "sensitive" subject. "Are you an American?" another official once asked a correspondent who had written an unwelcome story.

Correspondents in the bad graces of the authorities have been slandered in official letters to their editors. They have been harassed in the ways possible to an unfriendly bureaucracy. They have been threatened, in words blunt or subtle, with deprivation of housing, with expulsion or court martial. A black list of "hostile correspondents," revised monthly by G-2 and PIO officials, has been circulated among both occupation and Japanese officials in an effort to close up sources.

On a few occasions SCAP officials have tentatively essayed direct action. In the fall of 1946, they tried to force Mark Gayn of the *Chicago Sun* to disclose a source. The case was dropped after correspondents in a body visited Frayne Baker of PIO. In February of last year, SCAP ordered the expulsion of Robert P. Martin of the *New York Post*. Again united action by the correspondents forced a retreat.

The threats and skirmishes have led to the bigger battle of the present. The outcome will help to determine what people read and hear about this workshop of Asia.

THE UNITED STATES EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION IN CHINA

John Melby

(The author of this article is second secretary of the American Embassy in Nanking, and concurrently the acting executive director of the US Educational Foundation in China.—Editor.)

THE Informational and Cultural Relations Program of the American Government is, properly speaking, an outgrowth of the Good Neighbor policy which was suggested by President Roosevelt in his first inaugural address in 1933, when he proposed to dedicate the American people to the policy of the Good Neighbor, namely, the policy of the man who respects his own rights and in so doing respects the rights of other men.

It was not an accident that President Roosevelt should come to such a conclusion. It was rather a realization that democracy as we understand it was rapidly approaching a period of crisis in which it would need all the sympathy, understanding and cooperation of right-minded people which we could obtain throughout the world. The first indicated step was to further and consolidate relations with our immediate neighbors.

New Phase

It was widely admitted that relations between the United States and its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere were entering a new phase and that the previous history of those relations, whatever the cause, could not be allowed to continue in the same pattern without undesirable results. The Good Neighbor policy was the formal verbalization of the new American intent.

To implement this new policy various steps, military, economic, and political, were taken which need not be considered in any detail at the present time. Suffice it to say that during the early years of the Good Neighbor policy there was a growing realization in the American Government that something else would be needed—something on a more spiritual level, something which would embody the cultural and democratic ideals toward which we aspired. To this end the Division of Cultural Relations was organized in the Department of State in 1938, and from that period until 1941 largely confined its activities to the Western Hemisphere.

Beginning with a modest experimental budget of something over US$100,000, the program included travel and study grants, the exchange of professors and books, assistance to United States cultural centers such as libraries, institutes and schools, and the distribution of informational motion pictures. Various other American governmental agencies cooperated wholeheartedly in the project. Complete vindication of the Good Neighbor policy in all its aspects was overwhelmingly demonstrated by the spontaneous and warm-hearted response with which most of the 20 other American republics in single purpose rose with the United States in December, 1941, to meet the totalitarian challenge.

Meanwhile, a bitter and determined struggle had been going on in the Far East in which China, alone and largely unaided, has been resisting the forces of aggression since 1937. In November, 1941, the Secretary of State informed the President that the initiation of a cultural program with China was a matter of immediate concern, since such a program could effectively assist Chinese scientific and cultural activities during the period of national resistance and could build a closer understanding between China and the United States. This program was accordingly begun in January, 1942, with an allocation from the Emergency Fund for the President.

Given the background and context, the program for China obviously had to differ from that in the Western Hemisphere. For more than a century the American people had contributed money, knowledge, and the lifetime devotion of countless individuals for Chinese schools and universities, hospitals and agricultural experiments. On the other hand, the Chinese cultural tradition, infinitely older than that of the United States, made exceedingly difficult the effective utilization of customary American media in cultural relations. Moreover, the fall of Burma in the spring of 1942 had isolated China from the rest of the world, except for the difficult air route over the hump.

Principal Activities

The China program therefore revolved around four principal activities: the sending of American technical experts requested by the Chinese Government; the exchange of professors; the awarding of study grants to Chinese students in the United States; and the sending in of microfilm technical and scholarly journals requested by Chinese universities.

This is not the place to deal in any detail with the wartime program of cultural relations in China. Two examples will indicate the scope and nature of the program. Perhaps the most significant cultural aspect was that at a time when isolation and the limitations of transportation forbade the importation of materials so necessary to maintain the vitality of any people, over 1,000,000 pages of printed material were flown in to China in microfilm before the end of 1943.

The second illustration concerns a potato breeder, Dr. Theodore K. Dykstra of Beltsville, Maryland, and his well-nigh legendary sacks of potatoes. He collected 155 pounds of potatoes representing 54 champion varieties grown in 28 states. Sacks of potatoes obviously do not make the most convenient luggage. At the railway station in Washington the porter first refused to allow Dr. Dykstra to board the train with his professional equipment but finally compromised by putting the seven sacks of potatoes in the upper berth with the traveler.

En route to India Dr. Dykstra's ship was disabled at sea off South Africa, but the potatoes were saved. They were flown the length of Africa and Asia, to Chungking, and upon arrival were probably the most costly Irish seed potatoes in history. The point is that the eventual success of this experiment led one leading Chinese agriculturist to observe that the experiment may have changed the course of Chinese history by demonstrating an effective famine relief crop.

Program Reconsidered

The approaching end of the war against Japan and Germany led the American Government to reconsider what the cultural program should be in the post-war world. The bases for one of the major aspects of this new program were laid in the Surplus Property Act as amended by a bill bearing the name of Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, himself a leading American educator. The Surplus Property Act provided that certain types of surplus war materials might be sold to friendly governments for reconstruction and other purposes.

Senator Fulbright conceived the idea that such transactions, essentially economic in nature, should be given a broader cultural and spiritual connotation, and the bill which he therefore sponsored provided that certain portions of the proceeds from these sales should be returned in the form of cultural cooperation programs to the country from which they had come. The principal emphasis was to be the providing of opportunities for qualified Americans to study and learn more of the world in which they lived and at the same time to contribute something of American experience to the countries which they would visit.

The first agreement to implement the Fulbright Act was that which was signed with China in Nanking on November 10, 1947. Similar agreements with more than a dozen other countries are now in process of negotiation. The agreement with China established the United States Educational Foundation in China and provided for an expenditure of the equivalent of US$20,000,000 in Chinese national currency over a period of 20 years at a rate not to exceed US$1,000,000 each year.

The Agreement is couched in sufficiently broad terms to permit the bringing to China of American professors and students in all academic disciplines, to finance such special

cultural projects as the Foundation may deem desirable, and to provide a limited number of travel grants to the United States for Chinese students and professors. The Foundation in its work shall be assisted by a group of Chinese advisors nominated by the Chinese Government.

At the time the Board of Directors of the United States Educational Foundation in China held its first meeting in December, 1947, Senator Fulbright, in sending his greetings to the Board, expressed the opinion that in view of the long and outstandingly successful history of cultural relations between China and the United States, it was particularly fitting that the first post-war program should be initiated with China.

It also seems particularly fitting to the American Government that the first Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Foundation, who under the terms of the Agreement is the American Ambassador, should be the Honorable J. Leighton Stuart, who, born in China of American parents and for many years president of Yenching University, has had a long and distinguished career in Chinese educational development and has made thereto a significant and indelible contribution.

In one sense the United States Educational Foundation in China marks the beginning of a new trend in Sino-American cultural relations. Despite the contribution of American money and talent to China, the main flow has been that of Chinese students and professors to the United States, there to acquire that which they thought China could usefully employ for its own development. It is no exaggeration to say that these individuals have made the major contribution to Chinese understanding of the West. Utilization of the Boxer Indemnity Remissions was an outstanding example of this trend, and provided numerous young Chinese with the techniques for assisting their country to take its rightful place in the modern world.

Unfortunately, however, this development was not accompanied by a corresponding movement of promising young Americans to China, here to acquire that understanding of China which would assist the United States in contributing its share to mutual cooperation. It is a primary objective of this program to fill this need.

Program Approved

Since the signing of the agreement, the Foundation has been working on a program which in its major aspects will be put into effect in the next academic year. This program in its general lines has been submitted to the President's Board of Foreign Scholarships which was charged by the Congress of the United States with the formulation of general principles and policies and with the final selection of the individuals who are to come to China. The general program for the first year has been approved and applications are now being received.

It was the opinion of the Board of Foreign Scholarships that it would be advisable to begin the program on a relatively modest scale, in order to gain essential experience for a fuller and later development. To this end grants are to be made to 20 American professors to teach in Chinese universities. Scholarships are also to be granted to 20 American students and to 10 mature research men. Provision is made for granting of a limited number of scholarships to deserving Chinese students in American institutions in China.

In as much as adequate studies have not yet been completed on special projects, no final decisions have been taken on such applications.

In its desire to emphasize the reciprocal aspects of the program, the Board approved in principle the awarding of travel grants to 30 Chinese professors and students to come to the United States. Unfortunately, this phase of the program must be held in abeyance since all the funds of the Foundation are in Chinese national currency, and current financial difficulties arising from the post-war crisis in China make it impossible for the Foundation to obtain the United States dollar exchange necessary to implement this part of the program. It is, however, the intent of the Foundation to carry out this decision of the Board of Foreign Scholarships as soon as conditions will permit.

It should be emphasized that all professors and students will come only at the specific invitation of a given university. At the present stage of background research and program development, it is impossible to be more specific as to the exact content of the program, but the above gives a general outline of what is to be expected.

The war has been ended victoriously in a military sense, but for those peoples who believe in a democracy based on the worth of the individual, equality of opportunity, and intellectual freedom of expression and development, the struggle for the realization of these rights and opportunities is not yet completed. Not yet do all the peoples of the world understand these rights and opportunities in the same terms. Suspicion, hatred and greed still are altogether too rampant throughout the world, and those principles for which China and the United States fought a long and costly war are again being challenged.

Victory Of Peace

A victory of war has been won, but a victory of peace still hangs in the balance. The victory of peace will only be won when tolerance is universally accepted and the rights and freedoms of the individual are the rule, and when there is sufficient understanding between peoples of divergent background and outlook which will enable all people to concede to others that which they would have for themselves. Cultural understanding can and must play a vital role in this process of development unless our long and hard-won advances in civilization are to perish in disaster. It is the hope and intent of the United States Educational Foundation in China that it can make some modest contribution in this direction, as well as contributing to the strengthening of Sino-American cooperation for peace and a world of decency.

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INDOCHINA'S PUPPET POLITICS

Andrew Roth

Saigon

THE stage is being set for the most important act in the Indochina puppet theater. Ex-Emperor Bao Dai, most popular of all the figures which the French have attempted to use, is in the process of essaying the role of constitutional monarch of the three areas of Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina. Nominally, he is to be "independent" but, as in the case of the other puppets who have preceded him, the strings will be pulled by the French behind the scenes.

Although the French have never before risked so much on a production, smaller puppet shows have gone before. In the kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia, the French have installed monarchs who are responsive to the demands of the French "advisors" at their elbows, after enjoying a brief period of independence following the defeat of the Japanese. But the dress rehearsal for the forthcoming Bao Dai performance has been the farce called "The Provisional Republic of Cochinchina."

D'Argenlieu Furious

The Cochinchina show was an independent production staged by Admiral d'Argenlieu, former High Commissioner for France in Indochina. Admiral d'Argenlieu who has now retired to his prewar position as head of the Carmelite monks of France, was furious at the accord reached with Ho Chi Minh, President of the Republic of Viet Nam on March 6, 1946. Under this accord the Vietnamese Republic was recognized as a free state with its own army, parliament and finances. The French Government pledged itself "to ratify the decisions taken .... by a referendum" in the three provinces of Annam, Tonkin and Cochinchina. The Vietnamese naturally understood this to mean that their jurisdiction over these areas was tacitly recognized but would have to be confirmed by referendum. In exchange for this the French were permitted to land 15,000 troops in northern Indochina, which they had not been able to do before.

Admiral d'Argenlieu—whose ultra-conservative policies were out of step with the liberal approach of the Gouin-headed left coalition in Paris—was unwilling to accept this accord although it was the only means of securing an unopposed landing in Tonkin. He immediately began rehearsals of a puppet show in Cochinchina, the richest rice and rubber producing portion of the whole country, a show which he presented on June 1, 1946—the day Ho Chi Minh left for Paris to negotiate a final settlement. The maneuver was very transparent. The people selected to head this government were mostly wealthy merchants of French citizenship with close economic ties to France. The "spontaneous parades" of its supporters were organized by the French police and any one of the local Frenchmen or Vietnamese who suggested at that time that Admiral d'Argenlieu's maneuver was a violation of the March 6 accord and that it was unnatural to separate Cochinchina from the rest of the country, was accused of being a "grave-digger" of France. *Lendemain*, a French language leftist newspaper in Saigon was suspended on d'Argenlieu's order for running an article suggesting just that. However, the puppet president whom the Admiral selected, Dr. Nguyen Van Thinh, head of a Saigon rice syndicate, committed suicide, saying to his colleagues: "I am heartbroken to have led you on this adventure. I have been asked to play a farce."

However, another puppet was secured: Le Van Hoach who had been police commissioner under the Japanese. He was a leader of a branch of the Caodaoists—a new religious sect in Indochina which embodies the combination of most of the known world religions plus a dash of spiritualism—and was able to raise for the French some Caodaoist troops to help them control Madagascar, but was unable to whip up much popular support for his puppet regime. His press officer was asked how many people supported President Hoach's regime and answered in what was only a half-joke: "Five hundred people: the total number we have on our payroll."

Hoach Replaced

Last summer, President Hoach was replaced by the most skillful of the Cochinchinese puppet leaders, pudgy General Nguyen Van Xuan. General Xuan, an Indochinese who adopted French citizenship, married a Frenchwoman and was promoted by the French to the rank of Brigadier-General in the spring of 1947, played no role in the Indochinese politics until pushed forward by the French, and cannot speak the language of the country of his birth. But General Xuan is smart enough to know that to be a successful puppet one must appear *not* to be a puppet and so made a number of gestures which made him appear to be a spokesman for the nationalist aspirations of the Vietnamese people. Recognizing that the people of Indochina prefer their country to be called by its ancient name "Viet Nam" ("Land of the South"), he renamed the Cochinchina Republic the "Provisional Republic of Sud (South) Viet Nam." He released a number of political prisoners and persuaded the French "Counselors" to leave the cabinet.

Real Independence

Having tried to win the confidence of the nationalists by his liberal actions, last November General Xuan dramatically unveiled his plan to restore peace in Indo-China. He suggested calling a "Conference of the Elite," including such leaders as President Ho Chi Minh, ex-Emperor Bao Dai and, of course, himself and other puppets. These leaders, General Xuan explained, would work out a compromise with France in order to secure "real independence with friendship with France."

But the resistance movement remained cool to his proposals. One conservative old Vietnamese who has known Xuan most of his life said, "He is a fine, honest man but as a political figure he is a zero because he was named by the Council of Cochinchina which is a zero because it was not elected but named by the French. Therefore he can do nothing because zero times zero equals zero."

When most Vietnamese papers suggested that if the French wanted peace they should negotiate directly with President Ho and the Resistance and not with a "Conference of the "Elite" picked with their own puppets, General Xuan suppressed 13 Vietnamese papers despite his earlier promise of press freedom. His Minister of Information (who had during the war served as Japanese propagandist) explained that this was done because these papers had been following the orders of the "Asiatic Kominform" which had been established in Harbin, according to French news agency reports. Subsequently, when this correspondent asked General Xuan what evidence he had that the "Asiatic Kominform" existed, and furthermore suggested that these newspapers had been following its instructions, he admitted that this explanation had been merely for public consumption. He admitted that he had shut the papers down on the orders of General Boyer de la Tour, Commander of the French Commissioner for the area, to silence all the newspapers and declare a stage of siege if General Xuan did not shut the critical Vietnamese newspapers.

His great plan for a "Conference of the Elite" having fallen flat, General Xuan is now concentrating on the restoration of Emperor Bao Dai. In mid-December, just before Bao Dai flew to Europe, General Xuan flew to Hong Kong to advise him

to come back as a "Chief of State," rather than as a constitutional monarch, because of the opposition to monarchy in the South. He told this correspondent, however, that he thought Bao Dai could become a monarch later. "The Annamite people are very credulous. All you need is three or four months of propaganda as good as Ho's and you'll turn the people into monarchists."

Feature Attraction

At the beginning of December the first act in the new Bao Dai puppet production got under way with a meeting between the ex-Emperor and High Commissioner Emile Bollaert, aboard a French naval vessel in the Gulf of Tonkin. This meeting was a culmination of over six months of negotiations between the French and Bao Dai, with intermediaries shuttling back and forth endlessly between Hongkong and Saigon. Harassed High Commissioner Bollaert was anxious for this meeting because he was due back in Paris to report in mid-December, and had little to show for his two-thirds of a year in office after d'Argenlieu's recall.

In September, he had made a speech at Hadong which offered Indochina self-government in minor matters, but France was to retain control of the army, foreign policy and the economy. He said, "The offer I am making in the name of the Government of the Republic is an indivisible entity which must be accepted or rejected as a whole. This is my last appeal." It was rejected as a whole, not only by the Resistance forces but by the most moderate nationalist and Bao Dai himself. A leader of the Vietnamese Socialist Party stated: "The speech of High Commissioner Bollaert would give Vietnam the status of an advanced colony directly dependent on the metropole since the latter maintains the right to control customs, finance and the army as well as foreign relations. As long as import and export is controlled by the French, Vietnam will not be independent."

This diplomatic offensive by Monsieur Bollaert was followed up in October by an offensive in Tonkin by the French Army. The French scraped up all their equipment and used the major part of their 120,000 regular troops in Indochina, hoping to capture or kill Ho Chi Minh and other leaders of the Viet Nam Republic, destroy their army, seal off the Chinese frontier and in general end resistance. They succeeded in clearing a route from Haiphong to the Chinese frontier and largely sealing off the frontier. They forced Ho Chi Minh and his Government further back into the mountains, captured some supply dumps and radio apparatus, but killed very few of the Tonkin Maquis and therefore ended up with a long line of communications badly extended through hostile territory.

The failure of the peace offensives of Monsieur Bollaert and General Xuan in September and November, and of the military offensive in October, left the French in a very difficult position. After 28 months of fighting they had succeeded in establishing puppet regimes in comparatively unawakened Laos and Cambodia, and in capturing Saigon, Hanoi, Haiphong, Hue, Tourane and several lesser cities. But they are virtually besieged in all these cities and the routes linking them are only passable by day and in convoy. The cost of this reconquest policy is tremendous: already some $600,000,000 have been spent and France, which requires outside economic aid to prop up its sagging economy, continues to expend $1,000,000 a day in Indochina. The economic returns for this have been negligible, with very little of Indochina's rice, rubber or coal reaching the wharves.

The French, who apparently cannot face the inescapable necessity of dealing with the Resistance coalition headed by Ho Chi Minh, are now banking their all on Bao Dai. Their strategy, as disclosed to this correspondent by several high French officials, is to bring back Bao Dai and give him sufficiently good terms so that he will be able to convince a large portion of the Vietnamese that France has accorded independence, and to win away from Ho Chi Minh a majority of his supporters.

Bao Dai Cautious

Bao Dai, however, is rather cautious. When he abdicated in 1945 he said he preferred to be "a free citizen rather than a monarch in slavery," and in negotiations with the French, he has made it clear that he would only return if the people wanted him and if he got terms as good as those demanded by Ho Chi Minh.

It is possible that Bao Dai has become convinced that a substantial number of people want him back. The Mandarin officials at his court prior to his abdication have set up a clamour. The French have encouraged a considerable number of people close to them to fly to Hongkong and encourage him to return. They have also helped stage a number of demonstrations in various cities calling for his return. (A standard way for the French police to stage a parade is to take away the identification papers of many Vietnamese and then tell them they can only get these necessary papers back by parading.) The semi-official *Agence France Presse*—40 percent of whose operating expenses in Indochina is paid by the High Commissioner—has duly exaggerated the number of participants in these demonstrations. And Radio-Saigon gives a big play to every small-time opportunist politician and jobseeker who wants to climb on the Bao Dai bandwagon. In addition, there is undoubtedly a thin segment of neutral opinion—particularly among the predominantly Chinese businessmen—who would like to see peace at any cost in Indochina and think that Bao Dai can restore it.

Fairly well authenticated reports indicate that an agreement was initialed during December's shipboard meeting between Bao Dai and Bollaert on the terms of Bao Dai's return. Under the agreement reported to have been reached, Bao Dai is to return as a constitutional monarch with jurisdiction over Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina. He is to be permitted a small army of his own under French command and French troops are to be withdrawn to four military bases, but are given the right to control the routes to their puppet kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia. Indochina will not be accorded independent foreign representation. Indochinese junior diplomats will serve their "tutelage" in French Embassies abroad. There was apparently no agreement reached on the crucial question of control of customs and internal economy.

Less Enthusiastic

Although Monsieur Bollaert and his political advisors were quite optimistic immediately after this meeting, after a week their enthusiasm had considerably died down, apparently because the French Cabinet was finding it difficult to agree fully to Bao Dai's terms. Bao Dai's decision to go to Europe took the French in Indochina by surprise and their hopes that he would be installed in Hue by February or March began to dim.

Although the French are banking their all on the success of this culminating puppet show in Indochina, few neutral observers have any confidence that it can succeed. It is anticipated that his support will be limited: his old court officials, the pro-French elements who have ready climbed on the Bao Dai bandwagon, anti-Communists, the neutrals who want peace at any price, and perhaps some small defections from the more tired or conservative of the resistance forces. Bao Dai has no great personal popularity except in a small sector of Central Annam. The people of Cochinchina are republican and anti-monarchist.

It is unclear to any neutral observer as to how the French can expect Bai Dai to pacify the country without using French troops. There are only two major military forces in the country now, the French and the Vietnamese Maquis. If Bao Dai attempts to fight the Maquis with a small force recruited in Central Annam he will be pulverized, as demonstrated by the defeats of General Xuan's gendarmes in Cochinchina. If he attempts to do it with the aid of the French army he will be quickly stigmatized as a French puppet, and lose all chance of popular support. He cannot win either way.

An old, experienced Vietnamese put the situation very cogently: "The problem is very simple: If you want to end the war and restore peace you negotiate with the party with whom you are fighting, not with a puppet of your own fabrication."

French Reaction To Indo-China "Atrocity" Report

Osvalt Sunne

"UNBELIEVABLE!"
"Impossible!"
"Unheard of!"

These exclamations greeted this writer when he interviewed a number of local Frenchmen regarding Mr Andrew Roth's report on the latest situation in Indo-China.

Mr. Roth's article, entitled "The French Aren't French in Indo-China," appeared in the February 7 issue of *The China Weekly Review*. Among other things, it reports a young French army officer in Saigon as having said:

"This week the natives killed a buddy of mine. So we went to the area in which he was killed, seized several natives in the fields nearby, tied rope around their necks and dragged them behind our trucks. After several kilometers they were all dead, so we tossed them beside the road, as a warning."

Many Frenchmen whom this writer tried to interview refused to make any comment beyond saying politely, "You can believe it or not as you please, monsieur."

But a few, after listening patiently to a verbal resume in French of Mr. Roth's report, did make some interesting remarks.

An elderly French merchant, who had lived for many years in Saigon, said, "I have passed the greater part of my life in Indo-China. I am surprised at Mr. Roth's report. When I was in Saigon, the situation there wasn't as black as Mr. Roth has painted in his report.

"I have the highest esteem for the sincerity and honor of the American journalist; but, as a Frenchman, I cannot believe that my countrymen in Indo-China are behaving like uncivilized people.

"The incident reported by Mr. Roth, if confirmed, will be condemned as much by ourselves as by our friends abroad. But, in any case, it can only be regarded as an isolated incident—an exception rather than the rule."

A young French novelist, whom this writer has known for many years, turned livid with rage when he first heard the report.

"Mon dieu!...C'est incroyable!..." he shouted.

After his passion had subsided a little, he apologized for his momentary loss of temper.

"But you can imagine how difficult it is for a Frenchman to hear his country attacked in such strong terms," he observed.

"I will write at once to my friends in Saigon to see if they have heard of the same report over there," said he.

"If the report is verified," he added, "I, for one, shall be glad to see the guilty officer court-martialed and justice vindicated."

A French physician, who had travelled extensively in America in his youth, expressed astonishment at the reported anti-American attitude of the French colonial authorities in Indo-China.

"France and the US," said he, "are like two sisters, who have always come to each other's aid in their hour of need.

"The great Lafayette, embodying the noblest virtues of the French people, did not hesitate to take an active part in the American revolution.

"We, on our part, can never forget the friendly hand which Uncle Sam extended to us in the last two World Wars.

"Franco-American friendship is not a dream; it is a reality.

"The reported anti-American agitation in Indo-China is incomprehensible—almost unbelievable. Pending confirmation from other sources, judgment thereon should be reserved."

The good doctor, though remaining outwardly serene, was apparently shocked at the report. At the end of the interview, when he accompanied this writer to the door, he stopped and added, in a slightly shaky voice:

"My friend, we are living in troublous times. The world is still as far from peace as it was before the second World War.

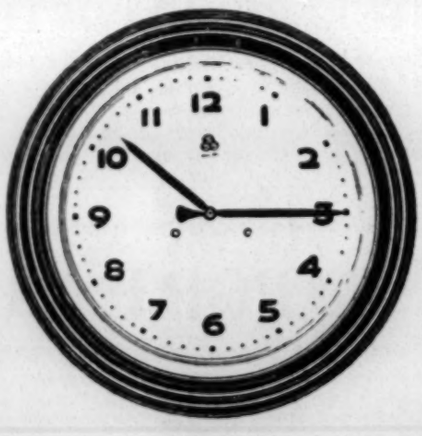
"Let us pray God Almighty to save us all from another world conflagration, which must spell the end of civilization."

A French artist, who had toured Indo-China before coming here, said, "While writing the 'atrocity' report, Mr. Roth might also have written a word or two about the large number of schools and hospitals which the French Government has established in Indo-China for the benefit of the natives.

"The situation there is now a little confused, and during the confusion, there as elsewhere, some unpleasant incident may easily occur.

"But I cannot for one moment imagine that the shocking incident reported by Mr. Roth, if true, represents daily happenings in Indo-China.

"During my tour of the colony, I came into daily contact with the natives. They were as friendly to me as I was to them. After all, we are all members of the French Union. Why should we murder each other and perish?"



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Private Trade Faces A Crisis In China

J. R. Kaim

SOON after the Government's February 13 announcement that new import reductions would be imposed, a *Central News* dispatch from New York quoted the New York Commerce and Industry Association as stating that "the (regulations) would have no serious effect on the amount of China-bound exports." While it is hard to grasp the significance of the Association's statement, it must be admitted that America's exports to China have indeed played a minor role in the former's trade picture. Consequently, US trade quarters' reaction is of comparatively little importance when compared with reaction in China itself.

Wise Housekeeper

From any good housekeeper's point of view, the Government has acted quite normally: it has declared that its purse is emptying and, emulating the wise housekeeper, it has taken steps to reduce its expenses. However, Shanghai financiers doubt whether the State's position can be compared with that of an individual. They hold that when such a decision is made by any single consumer it may hurt only a certain number of suppliers. But when a government representing millions of producers and consumers takes the same course, the consequences may be grave.

Chinese industries need certain imports, without which only very few domestic industries are able to carry on producing. Metals, textiles, chemicals, machinery, fuel and many other basic items must be imported to keep China's plants running. During 1947, with a few exceptions, the quantities imported were far below prewar figures, with the result that there is very little backlog of materials on the one hand, and huge amounts of idle capital, on the other. The funds are idle because production is at a minimum and risky. And production is small because home consumption is declining and exporting is difficult.

To a great extent, prices are responsible for the difficulties facing commercial exports. People abroad want and are in need of Chinese products and are prepared to buy, through normal trade channels, both raw materials and manufactured goods. But high prices in terms of foreign exchange are hampering such private exports. And yet when the cargoes in question are shipped through illegitimate means prices seem to be more acceptable. So it becomes obvious that it is not the Chinese currency price that has made direct exporting impossible.

Exchange Too Small

Goods are smuggled out chiefly because the Central Bank's foreign exchange for national currency is too small. In other words, the reason commodities are so expensive is because the official rates of exchange are too low. But once the would-be exporter calculates on the basis of the black market rate of exchange the same goods become marketable.

Another reason for the smuggling-out of goods is to obtain foreign exchange. But the smuggling firms have no desire to keep such foreign exchange in a saving account abroad. They want to use it. Were they permitted to use part of their proceeds legally, thus omitting the risks connected with illegal trading activities, they would prefer regular commerce to dark alleys. The State's income in foreign exchange

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would also benefit from such a policy.

Unemployment Increase

By reducing the scarce quantities of basic materials and other commodities needed for producing exportable goods, export chances will diminish; this is the opinion of nearly all the many would-be exporters and financiers approached by this writer since the Government's recent announcement. Some went so far as to claim that even illegal exports would decline, and it is evident that every decline in exports, whether legal or illegal, will increase the ranks of unemployed.

In short, most businessmen in Shanghai are of the opinion that instead of decreasing the amounts of foreign exchange allocated for imports, the Government should have concentrated on finding ways to increase its income in foreign exchange. Import restrictions usually result in either high prices of domestically manufactured goods or in a deterioration of quality; and both are bound to hamper exports as well as result in a declining foreign exchange income.

Results Unsatisfactory

The new reduction is not considered favorable to imported consumer goods either, as it governs money not to quantities. Importers will try to obtain as much in quantity for as little money as possible. In other words, the standard of imported consumer goods will probably decline.

Quite a few local financiers are convinced that the entire situation would change were it free to do so. Obviously, they say, the demand for foreign exchange is larger than the amounts obtained by legal exports. And so, to improve the position, the trade system should be altered. This can be done by increased barter trading, by giving exporters a chance to use their proceeds for imports, and by lifting import restrictions where capital goods and basic materials are concerned.

Prices Soar

It is generally considered impossible to reach this goal by conserving the declining reserves of foreign exchange: on February 13, the new reductions were made known in Nanking; on February 14, most Shanghai markets reopened after the Spring Festival holidays; no sooner had business resumed than prices began to soar.

Under such conditions, commercial firms believe that by reducing imports, the Government has diminished their scarce export chances. On the other hand, they admit that the State may be in a position to export. By printing banknotes with which its corporations will pay for domestic goods, and by selling the latter for foreign currency, regardless of the price in foreign exchange, the State may have possibilities which commercial firms are unable to share.

The Week's Business

NO sooner were the Spring Holidays (Chinese New Year) over and accounts settled, and no sooner did the markets reopen for business than commodity prices started to rise rapidly. Asked for reasons, brokers in Shanghai explained that according to their views three factors have been particularly responsible for what was going on:

Firstly, the official dollar rate had been revised shortly before the festival. As markets were closed at that time, prices had no opportunity to follow.

Secondly, while the black market rates had declined in February and while ready cash had been scarce, the situation altered at once after Chinese New Year. Black rates gained and the money market was comparatively easy.

Thirdly, the Government's announcement that imports would be further reduced caused speculators to believe that the black exchange market would become more active, while simultaneously the commodity shortage would be felt even more than during the past few weeks.

Indications are that the above three reasons indeed have been particularly responsible for many of the drastic price advances witnessed during the week under review (February 12 to February 18). The Government's decision to reduce imports may have had an almost disastrous effect on the general price development. In various fields, basic products had already been scarce before the new reduction was announced; it was evident, therefore, that the new import reduction would tighten the market further and with supply and demand regulating all price movements the trade's reaction was only logical.

Exporters, on the other hand, made it clear that the new import reductions no doubt would effect exports, too. With prices growing—in terms of official foreign exchange—it will be no easy job to market China products abroad, they explained, but added that such forecasts referred to private commercial enterprises only. Government corporations, according to their view, may still be in a position to export and so may some private, small, unscrupulous firms.

In other words, businessmen hinted that certain small-scale firms may not be interested in making profits from their exports; their first aim is to obtain cheap money in the form of packing credits from banks which would offer them more than 20 percent in interest within four weeks. Bona fide exporters, of course, are in no position to compete.

A general deterioration of the price situation was observed on Tuesday last (February 17) with the rice price increasing to more than CN$2,000,000. Markets were extremely erratic and while in the textile field, rayon prices were losing and silk prices remained unchanged, cotton yarn quotations went up considerably. On the whole, all prices were above their pre-holiday levels.

To a certain extent, such rapid and drastic price increases may have been caused by comparatively easy conditions on the money market. Idle funds continued to arrive in Shanghai in spite of governmental controls. Such funds are believed to have found their way to commodity markets.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Finance has decided to restrict overdraft credits granted by commercial banks. In this respect, the following statement was published in the local press:

"The Ministry of Finance has drawn up a set of provisional measures imposing restrictions on commercial and native banks permitting clients to withdraw deposits for which crossed checks received have not yet been honored by paying banks.

"Although the ruling has not yet been announced, the Finance Control Bureau is prepared to put the new measures into effect from March 1, a spokesman of the Finance Control Bureau informed UCIB.

"Meanwhile, the FCB has requested all banks not to make new arrangements with their clients for overdrafts of their bank accounts.

"In the case of depositors who have already been granted the privilege of overdrafts, the FCB has set March 15 as the deadline for banks to furnish statements giving such particulars as names of depositors and amounts allowed for overdraft."

Quotations

Stocks	Feb 11	Feb. 18
	CNC$	CNC$
Wing On Textiles	700	850
Mayar Silk	1,030	1,280
Commercial Press	340	360
Wing On Co.	260	260
Ewo Cotton	——	720,000
Bond C	——	89,000

Commodities	Feb.7	Feb. 18
	CNC$	CNC$
White Rice, first	1,720,000	2,100,000
Wheat Flour	665,000	870,000
Peanut Oil	3,840,000	4,400,000
Raw Silk "C"	90,000,000	102,000,000
Jap. Rayon	86,500,000	100,000,000
Cotton Yarn 42	60,500,000	78,200,000
Cotton Yarn 20	35,700,000	48,000,000
Caustic Soda	52,500,000	59,000,000
Koo Pun Soap	2,400,000	2,880,000

NEWS OF THE WEEK

US China Policy Change Hailed; Nanking Backs Us In Japan

THE United States Government's proposed US$570,000,000 China aid program was enthusiastically hailed in Nanking as the "beginning of a fundamental change in United States policy in China." Chinese government officials felt pleased that "the corner finally has been turned."

Responsible government leaders and the Chinese press were unanimous in stressing that half a billion dollars of aid falls short of China's ultimate needs. However, it is generally anticipated that the proposed aid will have a tremendous effect on boosting Nationalist morale in addition to the material benefits.

Pro-government newspapers have renewed their campaign to convince readers that the proposed aid for China is "only the first step in assisting China." Secretary-General Lou Tung-sun of the Legislative Yuan was quoted in the *Hsin Min Pao* as saying that the proposed allocation from Washington is only the "'beginning of American aid for China."

* * *

Wait-and-see Policy Ends

BACK in Washington, diplomatic circles regarded the China aid program as an "important step in American foreign policy in the Far East," because the announcement of the program marks the end of a "sit back and wait" policy toward China, which the United States has pursued since late 1946 and early 1947 when President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall asserted that no aid would go to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek until he had broadened his government to include other political elements.

Meanwhile, plans are under way to provide Japan with up to US$175,000,000 and Korea with another US$75,000,000 to help them get back on their economic feet. These three programs are advanced as evidence of a new State Department decision to throw up barriers against Communism in the Far East. According to well-informed circles, the sudden change in US foreign policy has been made necessary by a combination of factors. It is said that the recent developments in the civil war in China, the rapid spread of Communism, and Congressional pressure for a more positive policy have overridden the US Government's demand for sweeping political reforms in China.

Writing from Washington, Mr. Stewart Hensley disclosed:

"Official sources said that despite the fact that Chiang not only had not broadened his government but actually had outlawed the Democratic League, it was no longer possible to withstand Congressional pressure for aid to China. Assertions of Congressional blackmail have been made to explain the reversal of the position on China."

Secretary of State Marshall emphasized at a press conference that the China aid program is exclusively an economic proposal when a reporter asked him if China would receive military aid. However, he indicated that it would not interfere with freedom of action by the Chinese Government.

* * *

Military Aid

Qualified observers in Washington believed the program includes a "goodly supply of military aid." To quote Mr. Hensley again:

"Reports were current in Washington that the entire China aid program would be put into commodities. However, the fact that these reports stemmed from the same assertedly official sources which released the erroneous figures for the China program as a whole cast doubt on their accuracy. In addition, it was pointed out that the sum was an extremely large figure for purchases of commodities when most commodities the Chinese really needed, such as wheat, petroleum and rice, were extremely short. All these factors led observers to conjecture that the program includes a sizable amount of cash or a goodly supply of military aid."

It is pretty certain that there must be strings attached to the proposed aid. For instance, American foreign traders are reported to be clamouring for their share in the program. According to *Business Week*, part of the loan is slated to move through commercial channels. Private American exporters will send goods out from the US side while private importers probably will get them into China. Then the title will pass to the Chinese Government with distribution in official hands. This report, if confirmed, would indicate that the pressure exerted by American foreign traders is achieving results.

What action Congress is going to take on the program remains to be seen. Chinese officials in Washingotn have been told by State Department authorities that "there is no certainty whatsoever that Congress will approve the proposed loan." Informed sources explained that this possibility was advanced by the State Department as the reason why it would not inform the Chinese of the details of the program. The American authorities reportedly have told Chinese officials there was "no particular reason" to discuss the details of the program until Congress had indicated what it intended to do about approving, disapproving, slicing or augmenting it.

Congressional criticism of the global aid program is said to be rising. There seems to be no doubt that the overall figure will be cut down. Whether some of the reductions will be at the expense of China or whether the China program will come through intact at the expense of European and Middle East requests, only time can tell.

Political circles in Washington predicted that early or mid-March will be the likely date for the starting of the China aid program hearings and the program, although reportedly assured of far stronger Republican support than the Marshall Plan for Europe, is not expected to emerge from Congress before the House and Senate go into recess for the national political conventions starting in mid-June.

* * *

Currency Reform

IN a public statement appearing in the form of an interview carried by the official *Central Daily News*, Premier Chang Chun confirmed previous press reports that the Chinese Government was seeking a separate loan from the United States for currency reform. He disclosed that the Chinese Technical Mission to the United States, headed by Dr. Tsuyee Pei, has presented a new request for separate funds for currency stabilization purposes.

Recent reports from Washington indicate that Nanking has submitted requests for a currency stabilization loan of US$300,000,000 to US$500,000,000. The prospect of such a

Government for North Korea

THE Soviet-controlled radio at Pyonyang announced on February 16 the establishment of a "Democratic People's Republic" for North Korea. It is reported that a special session of the People's Council will be held in the middle of next month to adopt a Constitution, which will be used to govern South Korea as well when that area comes under the Republic.

loan, however, is anything but bright. Authoritative official sources in Washington said there was no possibility whatever at present of the Chinese receiving any currency stabilization money in addition to the proposed US$570,000,000 general aid program. However, they did not rule out the possibility that cash for the purpose might be included in the program. The belief was widespread in Washington that the program includes some stabilization funds, because the whole sum was considered higher than needed purely for commodity financing.

There has been considerable difference of opinion between Chinese and American officials over the effectiveness of any US money for currency stabilization in China. The Chinese claimed they could "make a good start" toward remedying the chaotic monetary situation with three or five hundred million US dollars. But American officials are rather dubious, asserting that it would take much more than that and still might have no appreciable effect, thus resulting in sheer waste of money.

* * *

China Backs Jap Recovery

THE reported US recovery program for Japan has been subjected to a great deal of hostile criticism in the Chinese press. Chief complaint is that the United States is building up Japan and neglecting China and that the rapid revival of a militarist and reactionary Japan under General Douglas MacArthur constitutes a serious menace to China.

The Chinese Government, however, took a different view. In his report to the Resident Committee of the People's Political Council, Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh declared that China was ready to support any measure for the recovery of war devastated areas not only in Allied nations but also in former enemy countries provided there are definite safeguards against their military resurgence. Dr. Wang went on to explain:

"Hitherto China has hoped and worked for early peace in order to achieve world recovery as speedily as possible. After repeated inability of the Council of Foreign Ministers to act in agreement, the prospect of early peace either in Germany or Japan appears dimmed. While there should be no abandonment of hope for bringing about peace settlements in Europe and in the Far East it would be idle to take the position that recovery must wait for peace."

A high official source in Nanking revealed that the Chinese Government supported to a large extent the proposed American plan for economic rehabilitation of Japan despite strong objections from influential quarters. It is further confirmed that Nanking has already accepted an American proposal pegging the Japanese industrial level to the average Japanese standard of living between 1930 and 1934. This is generally regarded as indicating that the American and Chinese views on Japanese peace-making are coming one step nearer.

The reason why the Chinese Government has come to such a momentous decision is said to be that after a further study of the details and implications of the proposed Japanese rehabilitation program Nanking has come to the view that US policy in this respect is designed to rebuild Japanese economic stability as a safeguard against the growth of Communist influence, which flourishes best in economic chaos. It is stressed that the spread of Communism in Japan will be a dangerous threat to China.

General Chu Shih-ming, former chief of the Chinese Mission to Japan, went a step further and urged his fellow countrymen to discard their suspicion of the Japanese people. In a long article published in the official *Central Daily News*, the general said it was unwise to talk of "settling old accounts" and called upon the Chinese to support the proposed American program for rehabilitation of Japan, asserting that "a prosperous, peaceful, stable Japan will be beneficial to China."

According to General Chu, a rehabilitated Japan will not be an economic menace to China because Japan cannot regain her pre-war economic position without Chinese raw materials. After hitting what he termed Chinese "misconceptions" of United States policy toward Japan and of future Sino-Japanese relations, the general stressed the necessity for China's backing all "rational" plans for solving Japan's grave economical problems and appealed to the underpopulated countries to permit Japanese immigration so as to provide outlets for Japan's excess population.

* * *

Foreigners Evacuate Danger Zone

IN view of the "unsettled conditions," all British nationals residing north of the Yangtze River have been advised to "register for evacuation unless they wish to remain at their own risk of falling into Communist areas."

According to a spokeman for the British Embassy in Nanking, this "confidential advice" is a precautionary measure taken by the British authorities for the speedy evacuation of their nationals should the occasion demand.

It was further disclosed that circulars were distributed from various British consulates in North China, which suggested that all non-essential Britons, especially women and children, remove from the exposed areas to Shanghai.

Meanwhile, the American Navy authorities are reported to be planning to evacuate American civilians residing in Tsingtao. Under-Secretary of Navy W. John Kenny stated at Pearl Harbor that 84 American civilians including navy dependents in Tsingtao area were threatened by Chinese Communist encirclement and the Navy plans to evacuate them if necessary.

According to well-informed circles, the ordered evacuation of American and British civilians from the danger zones in China indicates that the Chinese military situation is being viewed with great concern. It is generally expected that the Chinese Communists will launch a large-scale offensive in the coming spring.

* * *

US-USSR Relations

THERE has been a great deal of speculation on the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union during the past week. It was rumored that a Russian diplomat in Berlin had called on an American official there recently and thrown out Soviet "peace feelers."

However, the rumor was instantly denied by both the Americans and Russians. General Lucius D. Clay, United States Military Governor in Germany, described as incorrect Washington reports on secret negotiations between an emissary of Marshal Vassily Sokolovsky, Soviet Commander-in-Chief, and Mr. Robert Murphy, American Political Adviser. Meanwhile the Soviet News Agency, *Tass*, branded the reports from Washington as "a fabrication from beginning to end."

According to some advisers to Secretary of State Marshall, within a year or so there is a hope for an easing of the differences between the East and West. Spring seems certain to be a time of crisis, it is said, because of the efforts of Western powers to unify western Germany, to reorganize the economies of Marshall Plan countries, and to form—with American backing—a western European union.

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The Review's English Lesson—XIX

EXPLAINING EXPRESSIONS USED IN THE *REVIEW*

A NUMBER of readers have asked for the explanation of various expressions that appear in *The China Weekly Review*, and therefore we have chosen a number from the issue of February 7, 1948. We hope that if readers had any questions when reading that issue, the list below will be helpful in explaining meanings.

As our readers undoubtedly learned long ago, the *Review* is written in everyday English, i.e., it is not literary or classical but rather the English of daily use. It is therefore helpful as a living record of words and expressions that are current in common writing and speaking. Of the terms explained on this page, probably none will be found in ordinary dictionaries.

Page 279, left side:

1. 1. 3: **state of jitters**=state of anxiety or excitement.
2. 1. 4: **the man in the street**=the average person.
3. 1. 6: **after all**=finally.
4. 1. 14: **a sit-down strike**=a strike in which the workers stop work but do not leave the factory.
5. 1. 24: **a standing order**=a permanent order.

Page 280, left side:

6. 1. 8: **the Big Stick policy**=the policy of threatening to use force. This expression was made famous by US President Theodore Roosevelt in commenting on the use of American military force abroad: "To speak softly and carry a big stick".

Page 281, left side:

7. 1. 33: **double - barreled** = two forces striking together in the same direction. This term is used in hunting, referring to a type of shotgun made of two firing mechanisms and two barrels in which two shells can be shot off together at the same target.
8. 1. 51: **advance dope**=information in advance of an official announcement (slang).
9. 1. 56: **too much of a hole**=too large a deficit.

Page 281, right side:

10. 1. 14: **one school**=one group.
11. 1. 17: **beats the drum for**=advocates or demands (slang).
12. 1. 17: **all-out aid**=complete aid.
13. 1. 33: **no holds should be barred**=every possible method should be used. This expression comes from wrestling. When a wrestling match between two men is held as a regular sport contest, certain dangerous methods and grips (holds) are forbidden (barred).
14. 1. 33: **fighting.....at close grips** = actual physical combat.
15. 1. 37: **pay lip-service to**=merely speak as if in agreement with.

Page 282, left side:

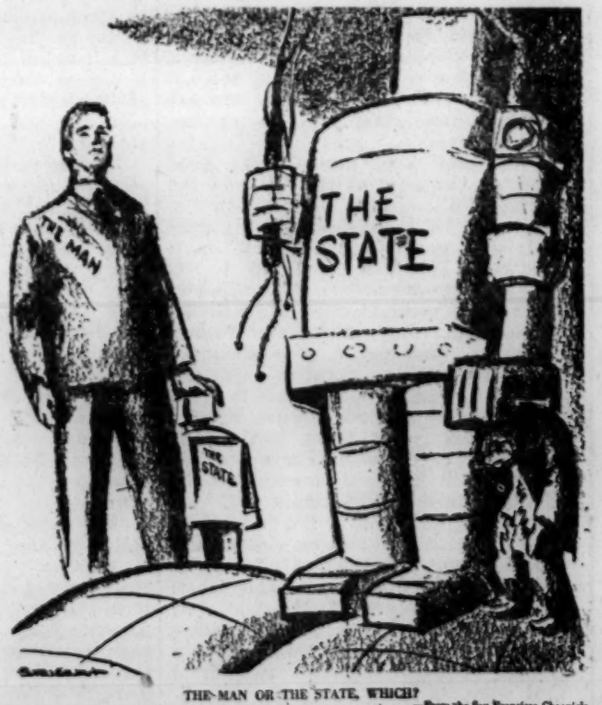
16. 1. 13: **boiled down**=condensed or summarized.
17. 1. 41: **to sail into**=to fight (slang).
18. 1. 48: **get bogged down**=get stuck.

Page 282, right side:

19. 1. 33: **to be in line with**—to agree with.
20. 1. 42: **is very guarded**=is very careful or reserved.

Page 283, left side:

21. 1. 37: **the mantle of his leadership**=his position as leader. This expression is from the Bible: I Kings, Chapter 19, verse 19. The prophet Elijah designated his successor by placing his mantle (cloak) upon the new man's body.
22. 1. 43: **backed down**=retreated.
23. 1. 45: **to go along**=to follow or to accept the decision.
24. 1. 45: **buck**=oppose (slang).



THE MAN OR THE STATE, WHICH?
—From the San Francisco Chronicle

What US Papers Say

THE present stalemate existing in Korea between Russia and the US has been the subject of much editorial comment in US papers recently. On the other hand, official announcement of the US$510,000,000 program for aid to China has evoked surprisingly little comment in the US press so far. Other subjects of interest were the proposed plebiscite in the State of Kashmir and the situation in Palestine.

* * *

Korea

IN an editorial entitled "A Last Appeal To UN Would be Wiser", *The Des Moines (Iowa) Register* said, "The fact is that the United Nations has no means of compelling the Soviet Union to cooperate with the commission any more than it can compel the Balkan satellites of Russia to cooperate with the UN Balkan commission.

"The Korean commission is now in Seoul. It is trying to get representatives from North Korea to consult with it and with South Korean leaders on unification and on the holding of the March election. Indications are that the Russians will force a boycott of this session.

"But the UN still has the power of world opinion....Even in this stalemate it would seem wiser to call the Little Assembly into session and make one last appeal to world opinion. If elections are held in South Korea alone and an independent South Korean government established, the possibility of a unified Korea will be more remote than ever. It would simply make division final."

The *Louisville (Kentucky) Courier-Journal* expressed the opinion that "If the United States should withdraw from Southern Korea, the result would be immediate imposition of Soviet Communism on the Koreans. But as long as we continue the occupation of Southern Korea, we are an unwilling party to Korea's unwilling division.

"All that was needed was good faith on the part of the US and the Soviet Union—intention of both nations to let the Koreans organize their own government without interference. The US lived up to its obligation, recognizing the authority of the UN commission. The Soviet Union did not, and, as Andrei Gromyko phrases it, 'the Russians are observing a negative attitude' toward the commission. This is proof of a negative attitude toward Korean independence, for there can be no independence in a nation externally manipulated into an irrevocable mold of Communist totalitarianism."

A recent editorial in the *New York Times* has this to say on the subject of the recent outbreak of violence in the US zone of Korea: "The sabotage and disorders of the last few days in South Korea are a preview of what could be expected if the US troops were to be withdrawn from that zone, as Russia and the so-called people's government of North Korea have been demanding. Were that done, Korea would almost certainly be plunged into civil war."

* * *

Aid To China

UNDER the caption, "Half-Hearted Half Billion," the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston commented, "The State Department at last has brought forward its program of aid to China, to the tune of US$510,000,000, but apparently with dejected expectation that the aid may hurt the European recovery program more than it will help China."

Pointing out that in order to make this aid effective the US would probably have to "come in and run the whole show" which, in turn, would "raise the cry against American 'imperialism' throughout China," the *Monitor* goes on to say, "The paradox is that many of China's sincerest friends oppose aid to China—at least 'political' aid to the present Central Government. They are as aware as any speech-making politician of the Communist threat in China. But they are convinced that until the present reactionary control of Government gives way to a vigorous new leadership on a reform platform, millions of dollars pumped into a tired, corrupt system cannot make it resist Communist dynamism effectively."

The *Baltimore Sun* labels the new China aid program "an obvious sop to the Republican opposition to the European recovery program." It claims that the proposed aid to China "differs diametrically" from the European plan, and goes on to say, "If support of the KMT meant a return of free society, stabilized commerce, a sound agrarian system impervious to Communism, our dollars in China would in the long run buy us peace. But instead it means buying time for a regime that not only has failed in solving, but refuses to attack, basic economic and political obstacles to stability"

Taking a different view, the *Washington News* headed its editorial, "A China Play, Maybe," and observed: "There is no indication that the suggested figure is to be part of a long-term approach, similar to the four and one half years which Secretary Marshall considers so essential for the European recovery plan . . . Simply throwing US$510,000,000 into China for 15 months and then stop might well result in the 'rathole' operation which some of China's critics want. Most China aid advocates consider three years as the absolute minimum for any reconstruction program.

"The most glaring omission (in the plan) is the lack of any reference to military supplies . . . Chiang's troops must have American ammunition and materials and, above all, American instructors for the ground and air forces. Unless the Administration's plan for China aid, when there is a genuine plan, includes this, it will be grossly inadequate."

* * *

Plebiscite In Kashmir

THE *New York Herald Tribune*, dealing with differing views of India and Pakistan on the method under which a plebiscite should be held in the State of Kashmir, declared:

"Evidently the mystic goodwill and pious memories of departed Gandhi cannot solve the problem posed by deep rivalries and conflicts of interest involved in the future of Kashmir. The delegates for India and Pakistan have traded charges of mass murders, raids and invasions; and each has stood by his particular solution.

In the present dispute, the obvious and proper solution is a plebiscite held under the United Nations. Both sides agree to this in principle, but there are differences over methods of holding a plebiscite, and over its timing . . . Fortunately, interests of the major powers on the Security Council are not directly involved. There is no reason why they should not be able to encourage a solution which both sides are ready to accept and uphold. In the arena of the United Nations, as in India itself, the processes of statesmanship must do their work. A compromise, reached in accord with world opinion, must be the healing factor."

* * *

Palestine

EDITORIALS held that the prestige and possibly the fate of the United Nations as an organization depends upon UN action to back up the decision on Palestine. Some papers called for leadership by the United States in spurring this action, on the ground that the US was one of the chief supporters of the partition plan.

The *Baltimore Sun*, in an editorial calling for a UN police force in Palestine, said: "Prompt action by the Security Council is indispensable if civil war is to be prevented in Palestine. An active military cooperation of the other Council members alone might bring about British cooperation with the Palestine commission. That commission should go to Palestine backed by police power of the member nations."

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* declared, "It does not the slightest good to keep repeating that the United Nations has no police force that it could assign to Palestine. It should form one." *The New York Times* stated, "The United Nations, which produced the partition plan, is under moral obligation to provide the necessary means to make that plan effective. It is to the Security Council that we must look for action. We believe that this action should be taken without further hazardous delay, that the presence of international forces would have a quieting effect, and that Palestine is inescapably a test case for the United Nations."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE proposed US aid for China and the price slump in the States were copiously commented on in the Chinese press last week.

* * *

US Aid for China

COMMENTING on press reports that the spread of Communism and Congressional pressure have forced the Truman Administration to abandon its policy of asking the Chinese Government to institute internal reforms as a prerequisite for US aid, the *Sin Wen Pao* editorially stated that it could not subscribe to this view.

"We cannot deny that during the years since VJ Day China has not exerted enough efforts to reform her politics and that some of the measures taken by the Government have not been in harmony with the democratic spirit. However, as Mr. Walter Judd has said, when war is actually in progress in a country, how can such conditions be avoided? We know that after General Wedemeyer and other Americans had investigated the situation in this country, they appreciated President Chiang's greatness and came to understand his earnest desire to bring order out of chaos. Yet, they were unable to go a step further to find out that corruption and inefficiency in this country has largely been due to the Communist rebellion.

"In the United States itself, the Communist elements among the civil servants have been weeded out and the movie actors and actresses in Hollywood, suspected of being leftists, have been tried by the courts. In Europe any nation whose government includes Communist elements will not be given US aid. However, the Americans believe that the Chinese Communists, who have been openly rebelling against the Chinese Government, can be transformed into a peaceful and legitimate political party in accordance with the normal procedure of constitutional government. We really cannot share this view.

Inadequate understanding has made the Americans prejudiced and because of their prejudices they urged the Chinese Government to cooperate with the Communist bandits. When the Chinese Government found it impossible to accept, they accused it of being 'undemocratic.' Hence, during the past year, while the rightists in Germany and Japan have had a good time under American protection and while the extreme rightist political parties in other countries have also been in the ascendancy, the Chinese Government has been criticised as being 'undemocratic.'

"Now that the US Government has decided to give US$570,000,000 to China, diplomatic circles at Washington are of the opinion that this indicates the US Government has abandoned its policy of demanding that China effect reforms first. If the 'reforms' include the Chinese Government's cooperation with the Communist bandits, then we want to ask, how can peace and cooperation be achieved with the Communist bandits? If, the 'reforms' do not include cooperation with the Communist bandits, then we would like to point out that the Chinese Government has been seeking for these reforms day and night and that its efforts to effect reforms will not at all be affected by its success or failure in obtaining US aid.

"Naturally, we are grateful to the US Government for having increased the amount of projected aid to China. In our opinion, this increase has been due to the fact that the United States now has a better understanding of the situation in China rather than the fact that the US has abandoned its policy of demanding Chinese reforms."

The Army organ, *Ho Ping Jih Pao*, expressed the opinion that the proposed US aid will contribute a great deal toward stabilizing China's currency even if there is no separate US loan for currency stabilization.

"While currency reform is unanimously advocated," the paper wrote, "such reform may have adverse affects if we fail to grasp the true nature of the problem. For instance, everybody now yearns for currency reform, thinking that so long as the currency remains unreformed, the country's financial and economic problems cannot be solved."

"As a matter of fact, a measure which will reduce the amount of notes in circulation and one which will increase the amount of supplies available will be equally effective in improving the present economic situation in China. The US$570,000,000 in the form of supplies will by no means be less effective. If one-third of these supplies is sold in the open market to force down commodity prices, and two-thirds are used to meet the deficit in the budget, prices will remain stable at least within the current year. When prices have been stabilized, exporters will not want to hoard export goods and the costs of exports will be low, which will naturally increase the Government's receipts in foreign exchange.

"Thus, our foreign exchange resources will not be exhausted. If we issue a new currency and recall all the fapi notes now in circulation, the currency situation will naturally become more healthy."

US Price Slump

THE official organ *Chung Yang Jih Pao* pointed out that the best way to solve US economic trouble lies in helping other countries achieve economic recovery.

"The recent sharp drop in commodity prices in the United States was due to nothing but overproduction and reduction in purchasing power. At present when the majority of the nations are poverty-stricken as a result of the war, they are financially unable to absorb the enormous quantities of surplus US products. Therefore, if the United States wants to regain its foreign markets and to maintain its economic prosperity, the only course open is to relieve the postwar poverty of nations in Europe and Asia and to help them achieve economic recovery first."

The *Sin Wen Pao* did not regard the slump as a prelude to the outbreak of economic depression in the United States.

"In the course of the development of capitalist economy, it is very hard to avoid economic depressions. But, it is too early to say that an economic depression has already arrived in the US

"The high commodity prices in the United States were artificial and false, and were bound to break sooner or later.

"As the different parts of the world today are closely interrelated, it is impossible for any one nation to be prosperous while all the other nations are poor. In its own interest, the US should give large amounts of aid to the poverty stricken countries. Only when the world economic situation becomes stable can the US enjoy lasting economic prosperity," the paper concluded.

* * *

Western Europe

DISCUSSING the proposal for the establishment of a customs union for Western Europe, the *Ta Kung Pao* stated that the idea of a Union of Western Europe is gradually taking definite shape.

"One of the main trends in international politics in 1948 will be the establishment of a Western European Union. This is undoubtedly designed to counteract the United States of Eastern Europe....

"However, the only hope for Europe's recovery lies in the joint efforts of the Big Four. Such terms 'Union of Western Europe' and 'United States of Eastern Europe' should be dropped," the paper advised.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

The Curtain Is Real

UNDERSTANDING THE RUSSIANS: *A Study of Soviet Life and Culture, edited by Bernhard J. Stern and Samuel Smith. Published by Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1947. pp. 246, with appendices and index. US$2.75. Reviewed by Philip Foisie.*

"UNDERSTANDING the Russians" is a comprehensive collection of articles from the pens of 51 Russian, British and American 'experts' describing the ideas, institutions and ways of living in present-day Soviet Russia and presented by editors Stern and Smith—both former visitors in Russia—"to provide significant evidence for those who are sincerely eager to learn the truth about the Soviet people."

The increasingly urgent need of understanding the Russians is profoundly obvious to people like Hamilton Basso's generalized American, "John Applegate," who, contrary to the editors' insinuation, has been digesting "the-truth-about-Russia" literature for at least eight years. His search through discussion groups and lending libraries has left him a little bewildered and a little impatient. His picture of Soviet Russia still lies somewhere between a truculent Vishinsky and a Don Cossack Choir. And his efforts to focus it are becoming a bit frantic and, he suspects, a bit absurd.

No scholar, Applegate's search has nevertheless endowed him with the beginnings of a critical mind which he tries to wield impartially. He has learned to read with a pencil. This habit has enabled him to preserve against mounting odds an only partially impaired objectivity and willingness to understand. Applegate was one of the first to take "Understanding the Russians" off the bookstand. He noted the scope of its articles and the reputation of its contributing authors, and he assumed it to be on the layman's level a reasonably definitive work.

Applegate first turned to the list of the contributing authors. Half of them he found are Soviet officials writing for government publications. Others, such as Beatrice Webb and Maurice Dobb, he is inclined to view as "professional" socialists with which he has little in common. He wondered if Richard Lauterbach, Edgar Snow, John Hersey and Sumner Welles have seen enough of Russians to meet the editors description as eminent or "people whose appraisals of Russia are widely respected."

Some of the articles Applegate has read before. Others contain much the same facts and figures he has already found in the encyclopedia. Except for added bits of information on Soviet arts and science, there is little that surprised him, although he was glad to be reassured that Russians have secret balloting, a graduated wage system, the right—though limited—to own private property.

He was interested in the article on Soviet films which he thinks are better than a good many turned out by Hollywood; he noted sections of the Soviets' criminal code which his state would do well to emulate; the vestige of Puritanism which lingers in his mind was mollified when he read of the Soviet attitude toward sex and the family system. He again felt humility and gratitude when he re-read of Russia's tremendous sacrifices during the war.

The lengthy, statistically documented articles on industry, agriculture and science came closest to touching his understanding. John Applegate lives in a country where progress is a major criterion for value judgments. He knows and appreciates the necessity of material well-being.

But he was conscious of a touchiness, a "see-we-did-it-too" tone in the passages. He thinks it's because some Americans insist on throwing America's high standard of living in the face of less fortunate people. This is wrong. To him, free enterprice is the only way, but it doesn't bother him to read that others are doing all right under a different system.

The sections on Soviet principles and government met with less sympathy, more suspicion. Applegate has long since tired of the sullen, ominous words which persist in the Communist vocabulary. He doesn't like the tone of "*systematic* training under *supervision*," or "the Soviet press is *instructing* the people."

Dialectic tight-rope walking has never ceased to amaze him. Stalin: ". . . election lists will be put out not only by the Communist Party, but by all kinds of public and non-party organizations. And we have hundreds of these. (Of course) we have no parties standing in opposition to each other . . ." Applegate underlined this last sentence and annotated in the margin: "Madison—faction is in the nature of man."

By this time Applegate has lost contact with the individual Russian he was talking with about progress and happy school children. In fact he's no longer certain that understanding that Russian will explain Gromyko's attitude on the Baruch Atomic Energy Plan, or the refusal of the UN commission's request for entry into North Korea. He is amazed to discover the subject of "The Role of the Communist Party" dismissed in one inadequate page. Regardless of the present-day policy on religion, he recognized the article on religious freedom as a "white-wash" disregarding entirely the damage done in the past.

To Applegate the "iron curtain" is not merely a trite phrase. It is real. He has touched it many times since his search for information on Russia began eight years ago. "Understanding the Russians" was a better than average product of the iron curtain. He gained more of an understanding of a part of the Soviet Russian today. At times he could almost say, "We're not so different. We could get along all right." But the eloquent silence on those crucial questions that Applegate has learned to ask, questions on his relation to Communism and his relation to the individual Russian as a political being, stood as a monument not to what he has misunderstood, but to what he is not being allowed to understand.

John Applegate is tired of speaking and listening to the Russian people through the "official organs" of the Soviet government. He is tired of nibbling at hors-d'oeuvres of carefully seasoned handouts, the studied speculation of authorities, the comments and "eye witness accounts" of transient observers. He thinks it both unnatural and suspicious that at this late stage books on "Understanding the Russians," however scholarly, should be flooding the bookstands. His common sense tells him that there must also be a desire to be understood. He has an uneasy feeling that at least one group of persons are making a fool of him. He wants to see "John Applegates"—lots of them—travelling around Russia and talking to the people. And he'd like nothing better than to show a large group of Russian tourists through his home town and hand them each a a copy of his book," "Understanding the Americans."

He feels that out of respect to old Winthrop Applegate he should be satisfied with nothing less.

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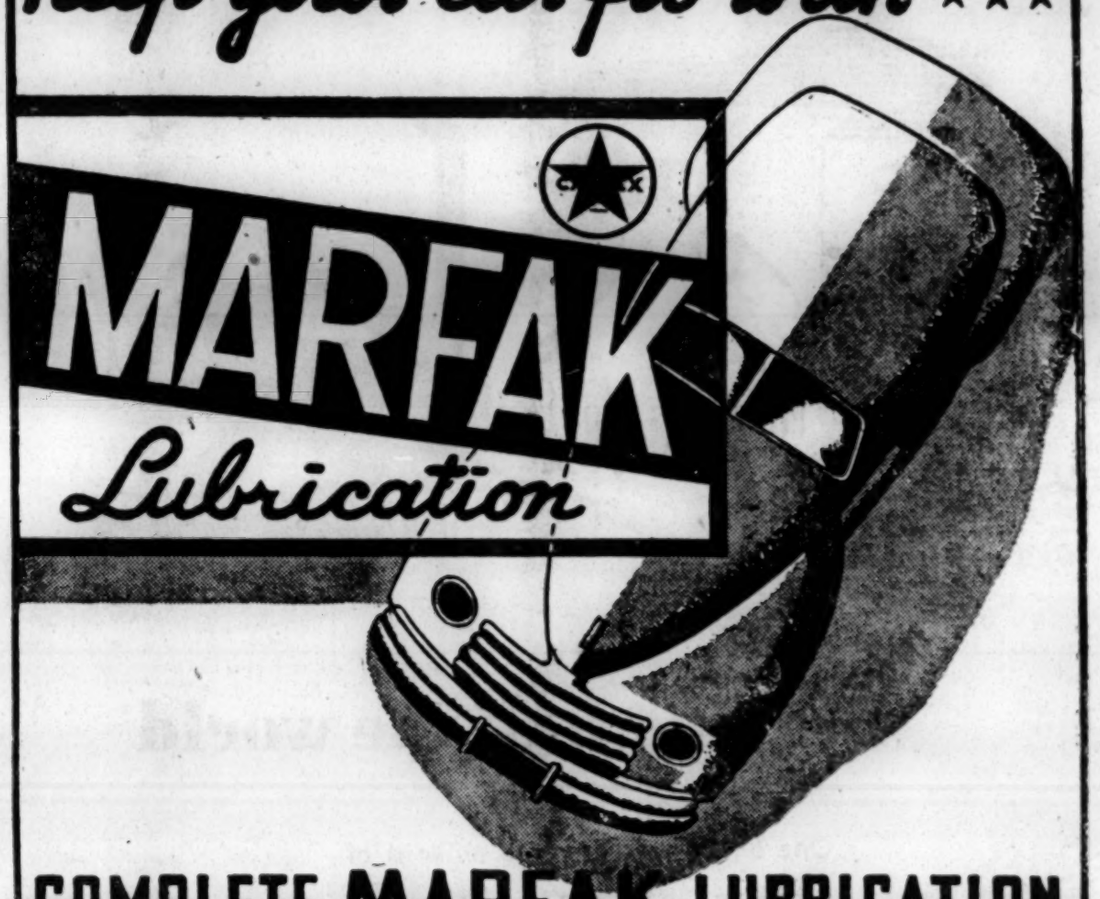

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